HISTORY OF SWEDEN

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CRONHOLM'S
HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

NEANDER N. CRONHOLM.

A HISTORY

....OF....

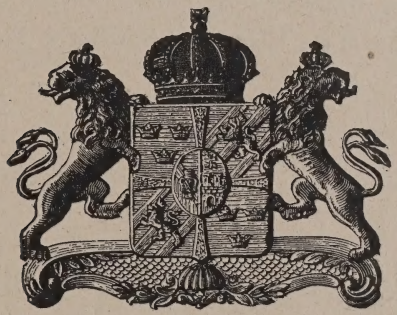
SWEDEN

From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.

....BY....

NEANDER N. CRONHOLM,
M. A., PH. D., LL. B.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.



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TO

HIS MAJESTY

OSCAR II.

KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY,

THE GOTHS AND THE VENDES;

THE PATRON OF SCIENCE AND LEARNING

AND

THE GOOD AND WISE RULER OF A PEOPLE

FAMOUS FOR

"VIRTUE, INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE,"

THIS HISTORY IS

BY HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

The English speaking branch of the Aryan race is penetrating into every department of human knowledge. Books have been written on every conceivable subject. Yet up to the present time the vast field of Swedish History has not been explored by English and American students. No complete history of Sweden is to be found on the shelves of public or private libraries. Only a few scattered chapters from that great volume are accessible to the English reader.

This I discovered when pursuing my studies at Yale University, and thereupon determined to supply this want. Though busily engaged in the legal profession, I have nevertheless devoted my vacations and leisure hours to this great undertaking. Now after twenty-five years of study and investigation spent in collecting and arranging the materials, and after visiting the battlefields and all other places of interest herein described, I place the fruits of my labors before the public.

And I here wish to express my gratitude to my friend, Shirley M. K. Gandell, M. A., Oxford, not only for his suggestions and assistance in the preparation and correction of the manuscript, but also for proof-reading the whole work. His erudition and time

have been generously given, and therefore it is a pleasure to link his name with these pages.

Although the leaves of these volumes are not burdened by constant references to authorities upon which the narrative or the arguments are based, the work is none the less scientific in its scope.

Only a partial list of the many authorities read and consulted can here be given, yet it includes:—

The Icelandic Elder Edda and Younger Edda, (2 vols.).
Sander's Sämund's Edda, (1 vol.).
Anderson's Younger Edda, (1 vol.).
Snorre Sturlason's Heimskringla, (2 vols.).
Snorre Sturlason's Heimskringla by Laing, (4 vols.).
Murray's Manual of Mythology, (1 vol.).
Petersen's Nordisk Mythologi, (1 vol.).
Anderson's Norse Mythology, (1 vol.).
Dr. Rydberg's Teutonic Mythology, (1 vol.).
Holmberg's Skandinaviens Hällristningar, (1 vol.), and Nordbon under hednatiden, (1 vol.).
Dybeck's Runa, and Sveriges Runurkunder.
Rydquist's Svenska språkets Lagar (6 vols.).
Portion of Ulfilas' New Testament.
Olaus Magnus' History of the Swedes and Goths, (1 vol.).
Saxo Grammaticus' History of Denmark, (1 vol.).
West Göta Lagen, (1 vol.).
Dr. Schlyter's Sveriges Gamla Lagar, (13 vols.).
Rimkrönikan.
Strinnholm's Sveriges Historia, (3 vols.).
Svenskt Diplomatorium.
Handlingar rörande Sveriges Historia.
Geijer's Svea Rikes Häfder; Svenska Folkets Historia och Samlade Skrifter (10 vols.).
The History of the Swedish People, (1 vol.).
Fryxell's Berättelser ur Svenska Historien (46 vols.).
Starbäck-Bäckström-Svenska Historien, (10 vols.).
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Nordisk Familjebok och Conversations Lexikon, etc., (8 vols.).

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Voltaire's Charles XII. (1 vol.).

E. Tegner's—Armfelts Biografi, (2 vols.).

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Strindberg's Svenska Folket (2 vols.).

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Tacitus' De Germania, Histories.

Schiller's Geschichte des Dreissigjahringen Kriegs.

Menzell's History of Germany, (3 vols.).

Dr. Zimmerman's Popular History of Germany, (4 vols.).

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (6 vols.).

Timayenis' History of Greece, (2 vols.).

Bradley's Story of the Goths.
Michaud's History of the Crusades, (3 vols.).
Rambaud's History of Russia, (2 vols.).
Swedenborg's Works, (35 vols.).
Knight's History of England, (8 vols.).
Hume's History of England, (6 vols.).
Guizot's History of France, (8 vols.).
Abbott's Napoleon, (2 vols.).
Woolsey's International Laws.
Treaties and Conventions between United States and other Powers.
Treaty between Sweden and United States of America in French.
Acrelius' History of New Sweden on the Delaware.
And a large number of other authorities on Swedish History.

References will also be found in the text to Swedish literature in general, as well as to Swedish authors other than historians.

NEANDER N. CRONHOLM.

3039 Groveland Avenue, Chicago.
November, 1901.

NOTE.—In reference to the spelling of proper names, critics may take me to task for not agreeing with them; but many Swedish persons and localities are historic and their names have been Anglicized. Otherwise the names have been retained as spelled in Swedish, avoiding, however, the letters å, ä, ö, the pronunciation of which may be unfamiliar to the general reader.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Location of the Kingdom of Sweden—Topography—Climate—Gulfstream—Svear and Gotar—Characteristics of the Swedes—King and People—Early Inhabitants of Sweden—Greek and Roman Knowledge of the Country—Pythias in Thule—Pliny Visits Sweden—Tacitus on the Swedes and Goths—Historical Evidence—Manner of Life of the Early Inhabitants—The Lapps—Sources for the Historian—The Stone Age—Mounds—Graves—Bronze Age—Swedes and Goths as Navigators—Dealings with Romans—West and East Goths and Swedes—The Runes—Tools.

The History of Sweden and of the Swedish people presents a study of unusual interest. The Kingdom of Sweden is the northernmost of the European countries, extending from the 55th degree North Latitude on the south to far beyond the arctic circle up to the 71st degree North Latitude on the north. Her southern and eastern shores are washed by the waves of the Baltic and the Bay of Bothnia. Torneo River, a turbulent stream, separates her from Northern Finland on the northeast. On the west she is bounded by the Sound, the Cattegat, and the Northern Atlantic Ocean, up to the point where she unites with Norway to form the Scandinavian Peninsula. The surface area of Sweden is 172,876 square miles; that of Norway is 124,445 square miles.

The coast line of Sweden is indented with many small bays and fjords which form havens where the

daring and exhausted mariner can find shelter and protection from the raging elements; and it was on their shores and along the river banks that the celebrated Sea Kings and Vikings dwelt in the olden days.

The topography of the country is various, consisting in part of beautiful table lands which are exceedingly productive and yield a bounteous return to the husbandman for his industry—in part of forest-clad mountains whose rocky crests hide abundant stores of mineral wealth, among them being some of the finest iron ores known to the world. Beautiful inland lakes enliven the landscape. Innumerable brooks and rivers rush from the mountains, watering the valleys, and forming navigable streams ere they flow into the sea. Prior to the railroad era these streams were the principal trade highways, carrying vast quantities of lumber and ores. Numerous hamlets and cities are located along these waterways which supply power for an endless variety of manufacturing industries. The forests abound with game, and the lakes, streams and surrounding ocean teem with all kinds of fish.

The climate of the country is pure, healthful and invigorating, varying as it does from mild and pleasant in the southern part to cold and bracing in the northern; but it is by no means as cold and rigorous as would be supposed from its northern latitude. The Gulf Stream of the Atlantic Ocean which comes from the Equator, and then, flowing north through the English Channel and west of England and Ireland, follows the western coast of Sweden and Norway, modifies the severity of these high latitudes, making the mean temperature of Sweden about the same as that of New England. In this Northern Kingdom the

summer is almost one continuous day. Trees and fruits, vegetation, flowers and grain all grow with great rapidity. The winter days are short, but when the sun advances northward again Spring leaps forward with a bound. Migratory birds of many varieties, from the nightingale, lark and cuckoo to the swan and stork, coming from southern climes, fill the air with their musical and plaintive voices, and settle among hills and valleys, on the shores and banks of the rivers to build their nests and raise their young.

The Swedish people, composed of Svear and Gotar, are one of the oldest in Europe. Their origin must be looked for among the hoary ages. They have no national holiday upon which they celebrate the nation's birth. They have had reverses, and have been sometimes checked in their progress, but they have always been a free and independent people. In all ages they have been famous for their courage, valor and independence, and a love of freedom which no adverse circumstances could suppress. No nation on earth possesses in a higher degree the manly virtues of fidelity and integrity. They bear a well-earned reputation for hospitality and every social virtue; faithful and loyal to their friends, they are also generous and forbearing towards their foes.

The history of Kings has by some historians been declared to be the history of their people. Now a great historian of Sweden has asserted that her history is the history of her Kings. But while it is true that under victorious Princes the Swedish people covered themselves with imperishable glory, nevertheless this was due to a common impulse which moved the whole nation to extraordinary efforts when its independence

was threatened. It was indeed in the face of menacing dangers from without, that, with one consent, the entire people took up arms for their own protection as well as for the benefit of their oppressed and suffering fellowmen abroad, and that they upheld the hands of their Princes and supported them during all their vicissitudes and trials, cheerfully sacrificing their lives and property for freedom and civil liberty, as we hope will be shown in the following pages.

Historical evidence exists on every hand that Sweden was inhabited at a very early date, in fact long before the beginning of the Christian era. Written documents relating to the earliest period do not exist, if we except the Norse songs and sagas and a few ancient authors. The historian must pursue his researches among the ruins and monuments of the country, subjecting the runic inscriptions on rocks and bautastones to critical investigation. Inasmuch as the mounds and burial places of the earliest inhabitants give an index to their manners and customs, they have been diligently explored by archaeologists all over Sweden during late years, whose reports are of extreme interest to the student and the historian.

The Greeks and Romans during the time of their greatness had very little knowledge of the northern part of Europe. They believed that certain Hyperboreans lived there, whom they pictured as mortals living in close communion with the gods in a land of plenty and under sunny skies, where toil and fatigue were unknown, and neither sickness nor suffering befell the race. Yet this Northern race would not remain at home, indolent and satisfied with their celestial

abode, but sallied forth instead and pressed hard upon the unsuspecting peoples of the South.

The earliest written account of the Scandinavian North is given by a native of Massillia (Marseilles) by the name of Pythias, who, about 350 years before Christ, sailed northward passing through the Sound and visiting the shores of the Baltic Sea, where he traded in amber with a people called Gutones. Amber became at that time a very fashionable ornament among the wealthy Greek and Roman women.

From the description given by Pythias of the length of the day in summer, he must have made his way to the upper part of the Bay of Bothnia. The natives, he says, threshed the grain of which they made bread in large roofed buildings where it was carefully stored away. The sun did not always shine there, and rain and snow often spoiled the growing crops. Walls were built around the gardens, where hardy plants and various kinds of berries were raised for food. Bees were also kept by the natives, who made a pleasant drink from the honey. This evidently was the mead (mjod) so celebrated in songs and sagas, which made the gods and einharjars glad in Valhalla, and which the chiefs and warriors quaffed from the horns at yule-tide.

This Northern people had, according to Pythias, already attained a certain degree of civilization. They were eager to trade their amber with foreigners, shrewd at making bargains, and ready and well prepared to fight for their rights if imposed upon by strangers or otherwise offended and ill treated.

A long silence follows this account of Pythias. Then we again hear of Scandinavia through Pliny, who visited the great peninsula, though he called it a continent.

The amber merchants were still engaged in their trade with the Gutones dwelling on the shores of the Baltic. Tacitus, the great Roman historian, in his pointed style gives a brief account of the Gutones, the Suevi and other kindred nations, who were living in the North, and it was not long after his time that these tribes came rolling like an avalanche over the Roman Empire. The Roman legions, unable to resist their attack, at length gave way, and Italy became the prey of the invaders. A Gothic Empire was built on the ruins of Rome. Who were those Swedes and Goths, those Northmen who created such a stir in the world? Whence did they come? What was their manner of living? What were their occupations, their intellectual and moral conditions? These are subjects which we intend to discuss and investigate. For history aims to reveal truth—the causes producing certain effects in the intercourse of man with man, and the relative position that various communities and nations have sustained towards one another.

The laws and regulations, ordinances and constitutions of a people are the products and fruits of old customs which ripened after long and bitter internal struggles, just as treaties and compacts between independent nations are the issue of long and bloody wars. The causes leading up to these conflicts between different peoples are frequently lost sight of owing to the chances of war, or the decree of fate, or, shall we say, by the foreordained determination of God.

The earliest inhabitants of Sweden had not attained a high degree of civilization, according to our present ideas. They were dependent for their food upon hunting and fishing and on the fruits and products of the

earth. Their tools and weapons were made of stones and flints, or bones and teeth of animals. Skins and furs were the material of their garments. During late years the National Museum at Stockholm has been filled with relics of this early period collected from all parts of Sweden. It is the general consensus of opinion among scholars and students that the Lapps formerly lived further south in Sweden than they do at this time. The traditions as expressed in songs and sagas, and the popular belief at the present day in giants, trolls, elves, fairies, nixies, the maid of the woods, goblins and other mysterious beings originated from the contact of the early Swedes and Goths with the Cave Dwellers who were gradually driven Northward to Lapland.

Documents which give an account of the early history and conditions of the North of Europe are very rare. There are no reliable sources for historical investigations except such inscriptions as may be found on monuments, runes on rocks, and the archaeological discoveries in the mounds and in the burial places of the earliest inhabitants. It is only from the monuments, graves and other ruins, that we can form an idea of the conditions of human existence at that time. There was a period when the inhabitants of the North knew nothing of metals, and when they manufactured tools and weapons principally of stones. Gradually, however, they learned the art of molding and forming implements of an alloy composed of a mixture of copper and tin, which is known as bronze.

Later they began to work in iron and steel, and made better tools out of these hard and useful metals. From these different grades of tools and weapons used

by the Northmen certain writers have divided Swedish history into what they call the stone age, the bronze age and the iron age.

The earliest traces of human inhabitants in the North are found in the larger mounds of the stone age which have been discovered near the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, and which consist of the refuse thrown away after meals, including oyster shells, bones of certain animals, birds and fishes, etc., and belong to a very early age. Their great antiquity is established by the fact that these mounds contained bones of animals which have been for a long time extinct in the North, such as the wild swine and the wild ox, as well as certain kinds of fishes which have not existed for centuries. In these mounds have been found tools and weapons of a very rough and rudimentary character, made principally of stone, bones and clay. The race who fashioned them supported themselves mainly by hunting and fishing, led a very uncivilized life, and roamed about the country as nomads. At the commencement of the stone age the people were in a very low and savage condition, but gradually they began to raise cattle and other domestic animals and to make some attempts at agriculture. They buried their dead in large caves, or prepared resting-places for them having stone walls and roofed with large slabs, and heaped earth over them; or else they made immense mounds of stone containing a burial chamber and covered them over with soil. A few of these graves have been explored by archaeologists, one of whom writes of them as follows: "I found an entrance opening to a long passage which led into the middle of the mound, which was a large room prepared for the reception of

the dead; this room was filled with human bones, and bones of animals, tools and weapons of stone, and other rude implements, fancy articles prepared from bones, and precious stones." The people of the stone age lived principally in the Southern and Western Provinces of Sweden.

The stone age was followed by the age of bronze. Living on the coasts of the Baltic the Swedes and Goths built ships and became expert navigators. Coming in contact with the more civilized countries of Southern Europe, the inhabitants of the North had gradually learned the use of certain metals, particularly bronze and gold, and from these metals they now fashioned their weapons, tools and ornaments. Many of their bronze implements which have been found in the earth show signs of considerable skill and fine workmanship, indicating that the inhabitants of the North had acquired no small degree of ingenuity. The art of writing was not yet known except to the priests. The most important events were recorded by inscriptions on stones. In the early part of the bronze age it was usual to bury the dead in coffins of stone,or else in large hollow logs, but later they burned the dead and placed their ashes in large urns; it was still customary to throw large heaps of stones and earth over the graves. These mounds, called Attehogar,are quite numerous in Sweden near the sea coast.

It is usually supposed that the bronze age in the North corresponds with the time prior to the birth of Christ. That this Scandinavian branch of the great Teutonic race was living there during this age is demonstrated by inscriptions on bautastones and rocks.

These Swedish and Gothic navigators came in con-

tact with the Romans, who during the time of the Emperor Augustus began to make conquests in Germany; for during the first century after the birth of Christ, the classical authors, such as Pliny and Tacitus, make mention of the Northern people under different names, the former speaking of a large island called Scandia, and the latter alluding to the Sviones as a very powerful race possessed of arms and vessels. From the abundance of iron ore in the hills of Sweden this metal was early utilized by the inhabitants. Besides iron they learned to employ lead, glass, ivory, etc., and in their commercial dealings with the Romans they learned the value of coins. Armor, weapons, tools and jewelry of Roman make have been found in many places in Sweden. That period of the iron age during which the North was influenced by Roman civilization and culture has been by some archaeologists and writers called the old iron age. The most valuable discoveries dating from this time have been made in large swamps, which formerly were regarded as sacred lakes, and into which trophies and other expensive articles had been thrown as a sacrifice to the gods, or as equipment for a dead hero, that he might not come empty-handed to Odin in Valhalla. Large numbers of ancient articles have lately been found in peat-beds. Everything belonging to the equipment of a warrior and his horse, fancy articles of all descriptions, boats, Roman arms engraved during the time of the Roman Emperors and so forth, have been found in these places, while arms and jewelry of exceedingly fine workmanship and of great value have been found in the mounds. Sometimes arms have been found engraved with all the old Runic alphabet; similar characters can be deciphered

on monuments, rocks and stones. The graves of the old iron age contain either burnt bones or seated corpses attired in full panoply of war.

The West Goths and East Goths were then living in the provinces which have since been known by their names. Advancing further north and east of a large forest known as Tiveden, another tribe was encountered, known by the name of Sviar (Swedes). This district was called Svithiod and lay to the north of lake Malaren. There the tribe formed into three large communities and from this point gradually spread westward and southward until they surrounded the lake. The third Northern tribe, which had moved further west and settled down in Norway, occupying the valleys, gradually become known as the Norwegians.

The popular movements in Central Europe, beginning with the Christian era and continued for several centuries, which are known as the great migrations, had also an influence on Northern Europe. The Germanic tribes which had occupied the countries south and southeast of the Baltic were crowded out of their old habitations, and some sought refuge with their kindred in the North while others moved to Western Europe. Great portions of the North became settled and cultivated. Numbers of the emigrants penetrated into the northern part of Sweden as far as Lapland, where they cleared the forests and practiced agriculture, but it was more particularly the central part of Sweden which felt the effects of this immigration. There the population steadily increased and a higher civilization began to exert its influence; and from this time forth the dwellers of Svithiod gained in power and importance. At the time the Historic period begins,

the provinces known as Svealand and Gotaland were already united into one power and were governed by one King.

The later or younger iron age is considered to have begun about the year six hundred after Christ. The influence which the people from Southern Europe had exerted upon the people of the North had considerably lessened because the former had at this period embraced Christianity, whilst the latter still clung to their old heathen gods. Weapons as well as ornaments belonging to this period are often very expensive and ornamental but they show less skill in workmanship and coarser tastes than were shown during the earlier iron age.

The runes still formed the alphabet used in writing, though they differ slightly from those of the preceding age. Runic inscriptions became more common, and monuments, stones and rocks were employed to record events, as well as to keep alive the memory of the dead who had distinguished themselves either in war or in peace, at home or abroad. Sweden possesses more of these runes than any other Scandinavian country, and of the Swedish provinces that of Upland contains by far the largest amount of them.

The method of disposing of the dead during the younger iron age was much the same as that in vogue during the older iron age; sometimes they were buried in mounds, whilst at other times they were burned and the ashes were gathered up and preserved in urns which were then placed in mounds. The places where the dead were buried were either distinguished by large mounds of earth, or else enormous stones were erected there called Bautastones, and sometimes the

burial places were surrounded by a large number of stones in different designs.

The latter part of the iron age forms the connecting link between the time of the Sagas and the historic period of the North, and is usually called the age of the Vikings.

The oldest known writings which have been found in Sweden are certain hieroglyphs engraved on large mountain rocks, intended to narrate special events, such as invasions, battles and victories by land and sea, or to describe the customs and manners of life among the people. There are a great many of these hieroglyphs on rocks in Sweden. The following specimen is taken from a large rock at Lokeberg in Foss Parish, Province of Bohus, Sweden.

THE RUNES OF SWEDEN.

The writings following the hieroglyphic were The Runes of the Swedes; certain signs or letters used in recording events, which are peculiar to themselves and appear to be of their own invention. They were supposed to have magic powers, and to be gifts of the gods, and long remained a secret of the priests. Originally there were sixteen in the alphabet, but a few changes added five more.

SPECIMEN OF THE RUNES. THE ALPHABET.

ᚠ F, ᚢ U, ᚦ Th, ᚨ, ᚭ O, ᚱ R, ᚲ K, ᚼ H, ᚾ, ᛁ N, ᛁ I, ᛃ, ᛅ A, ᛋ, ᛌ S, ᛏ, ᛐ T, ᛒ B, ᛚ L, ᛘ M, ᛦ Ö eller såsom slutbokstaf R.

Each rune is followed by the corresponding English letter. The words "man," "animal" and "property" were also represented by single symbols.

The following runes are from a bautastone in the Province of Upland, Sweden:

1. *Uppland. Bälinge socken. Forkarleby.*

ᚺᛁᛋᚼᛏᚱ × ᚼᚢᚴ × ᚴᚼᚱᛚ × ᚢᛏᚢ × ᚱᚼᛁᛋᚼ × ᛋᛏᚼᛁᚾ × ᚼᚴᛏᚢᚾ × ᛋᛏᛁᚾᛋᛏᚾ × ᚴᚼᚦᚢᚱ × ᛋᛁᚴ ×

SIHATR AUK KARL LITU RAISA STAIN AFTIR HALFTAN FAÞUR SIN.

The runes read according to the English letters underneath, and the translation is as follows: "Sihater and Charles caused this stone to be erected in memory of their father."

2. *Uppland. Täby socken. Täby tä.*

ᛁᚼᚱᚢᚼᛒᚾᚴᛁ × ᚢᛏ × ᚱᚾᛁᛋᚾ × ᛋᛏᚾᛁᚾ × ᚦᛁᛋᚾ × ᚾᛏ × ᛋᛁᚴ × ᚴᚢᛁᚴᚢᚾᛏᚾ × ᚾᚢᚴ × ᛒᚱᚢ × ᚦᛁᛋᚾ × ᚴᚾᚱᚦᛁ × ᚴᚢᚱ × ᛝᛏᛏ × ᛋᛁᛋᚾ × ᚾᚢᚴ × ᚾᛏᛁ × ᚾᚢᛏᚾ × ᛏᚾᛒᚢ × ᚴᚢᚦ × ᛦᛁᚾᚢᛒᛁ × ᛝᚾᛏ × ᛦᚾᛏᛋ×

IARLABAKI LIT RAISA STAIN ÞISA AT SIK KUIKUAN AUK BRU ÞISA KARÞI FUR ONT SINA AUK AIN ATI ALAN TABU KUÞ HIALBI ONT HANS.

"Jarlabake erected this stone while he was living, to his memory, and built this bridge for his soul's salvation. He owned the whole of Taby. God help his soul."

The following is from a bautastone in the Province of Sodermanland, Sweden:

Södermanland. Ytterselö socken. Mervalla hage.

ᛋᛁᚱᛁᚦ × ᛁᛏ × ᚱᚾᛋᚾ ×	SI(K)RIÞ LIT RESA
ᛋᛏᚾᚾ × ᚦᛁᛋᚾ	STAN ÞINA
ᚾᛏ × ᛋᚢᚾᛋ ×	AT SUEN
ᛋᛁᛋ × ᛒᚢᚾᛏᚾ ×	SIN BUNTA
ᛘᚾᚾ × ᚢᚠᛏ × ᛋᛁᚠᛚᛏ ×	HAN UFT SIKLT
ᛏᛁᛚ × ᛋᛁᛘᚴᚨᛚᚨ ×	TIL SIMKALA
ᛏᚢᚱᚢᛘ × ᚴᚾᚨᚱᛁ ×	TYRUM KNARI
ᚢᛘ × ᛏᚢᛘᛁᛋᚾᛁᛋ ×	UM TUMISNIS.

Translated into English it reads as follows: "Sigrid caused this stone to be erected in memory of her husband Sven. He sailed often with ships laden with rich and valuable goods around Domesnes (Courland) to Semgallen." Semgallen is the present City of Riga.

1. 2. 3. 4.

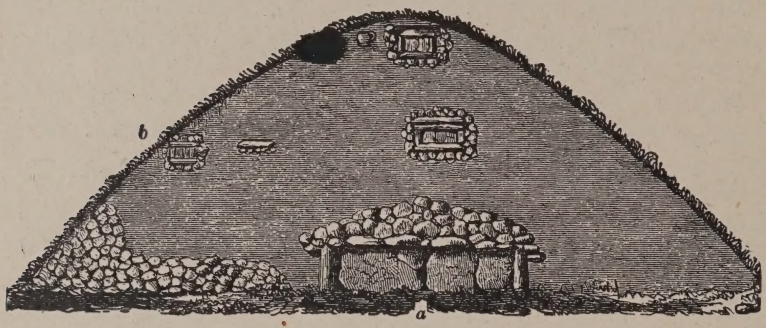
1. Is a broad polished flint wedge, having a sharp edge, and used as an axe when a shaft of wood was tied to it.

2. Is a flint chisel or wedge polished and sharp edged.

3. Is a flint chisel used for cutting holes in wood; a sort of carpenter's tool.

4. Is a chisel with a shaft of horn.

Large quantities of these flint tools are found in the Southern and Central parts of Sweden. Some were used as saws, knives and drills; others are perforated and evidently served as club-heads.



Intersection of an Attehog, or burial mound, in the Southern part of the Province of Halland. Several chambers are seen in which were found vessels of burnt clay, containing the ashes of burnt human bones. The position of the several chambers in the mound seems to indicate that in the first instance the large stone chamber was built in the centre and the soil and stones were thrown over it and in later ages the other chambers were built in the mound. Such mounds exist in great numbers in Sweden.

CHAPTER II.

THE PAGAN RELIGION OF THE SWEDES, AND THEIR EARLY GOVERNMENT.

Early Religion of the Swedes—Edda—Gylfe Seeks the Homes of the Gods—The Ginnungagap—Nifelheim—Muspelheim—Ymer— Frost-Giants—Audhumbla—Sons of Bori and the Asas—Odin—Creation of the World—Location of Midgard—Asgard and Hel—The Heavens—Stars—Odin—Thor—Gladsheim—Ygdrasil—Mimer—Norns — Balder—Frey—Freyja—Brage—Loke—Einherjars—Asa Faith Most Fully Developed in Sweden—Partly a Worship of Nature—The Gods' Sympathy with Men—The Evil Giants—War and Confusion—Ragnarok—The Spirituality of the Religion—Influence on the Lives and Conduct of the People—Manner of Worship—Social Relations—The Family—Tribe—Fylke—King and People—Election of King.

According to the prose Edda, Gylfe the Wise King of Sweden makes a journey through all lands in search of knowledge, seeking to learn the nature of the gods and the secrets of their power. He reaches Asgard, the abode of the Norse gods. Each of the gods gives him some information peculiar to the sphere and action of the individual god. He was told according to the Edda, that where the earth now is, there was in the beginning no sand, sea or grass, but only a vast empty space called Ginnungagap. On the North was Nifelheim, the place of snow, ice, mist and cold; on the South was Muspelheim, the abode of warmth, sunlight and life. The warm influence from Muspelheim coming in contact with the snow and ice from Nifelheim

caused them to melt and fall into the Ginnungagap, whence sprang Ymer the progenitor of the Rimthursar or Frost-giants. Ymer fed on the milk of the cow, Audhumbla, who kept herself alive by licking the ice-blocks; and these, as they melted, disclosed Bori the fashioner of the world and the father of Bor; who was the father of Odin and Odin's brothers, Vile and Ve. A struggle for existence takes place between Ymer and the Frost-giants on the one side and the sons of Bori or the Asas on the other, and Ymer is slain: from his flesh is made the earth; from his blood the sea; his bones become the mountains, his teeth the cliffs and crags; his skull is transformed into the heavens, wherein his brains float like clouds. The firmament is supported by four dwarfs, East, West, South and North, and the stars in the heavens are fire sparks from the warmth of Muspelheim.

The world thus created is called Midgard, being located between Asgard and Hel, the former the home of bliss and of the gods, and the latter the place of torments, of the giants and evil beings. Odin and his brothers surrounded Midgard with a fence made from the eye-brows of Ymer to protect the inhabitants from the Rimthursar. Man and woman were produced from two trees found by Bori's sons upon the seashore. They were given spirits and life, reason and power of motion, form, speech, hearing and eyesight; the man was called Ask and the woman Embla. They were placed in Midgard and from them all mankind is descended. Asgard was above Midgard. In Asgard there is a place called Hlidskjalf; when Odin sits in its high seat he looks over all the world and directs the course of events. Frigg is his wife and Fjorgvin their

daughter; from them descend the Asas. Odin is called father of gods and men. Earth was his daughter and with her he begot Asa-Thor, the conqueror of all things.

Narf, a giant of Jotunheim, had a daughter Night, who was married to Day of the Asa-race. Alfather took Night and Day, gave them two horses and a cart, and put them in the heavens to drive around the earth by turns. Night rides first on Rimfaxe, who chafes his bit and the foam bedews the earth. Day rides Skinfaxe, whose mane lights up all the sky and earth. The sun and moon were placed by the gods in the sky and were chased by two wolves; they pursue their course around the earth.

There is a bridge resting on Midgard and leading to Asgard, called Bifrost (the Rainbow), which is the route to Valhalla.

In Asgard is Gladsheim with seats for the twelve gods and a high seat for Odin, Alfather. Vingolf is a beautiful mansion for the goddesses. The gods meet every day under an ash, Ygdrasil, and hold counsel. The branches of Ygdrasil spread over all the world and reach above heaven. Ygdrasil has three roots; under one root, which extends to the Frost- giants, is the fountain Mimer, wherein knowledge and wisdom are concealed. Alfather once asked for a drink from it. He was refused until he had left one of his eyes as a pledge. Under the second root, which is situated in heaven, is the sacred fountain of Urd, where the Asas have their judgment-seat. The third root reaches down into Nifelheim, where Nidhug the serpent gnaws it from below.

Odin rides the eight-footed steed called Slipner.

Thor is seated in his chariot drawn by two goats, and when with his hammer, Mjolner, he strikes the Rimthursars and giants, you see the flash of lightning and hear the thunder roll.

A beautiful hall stands near the sacred fountain Urd, under the ash, Ygdrasil; out of this Hall come three maidens, Urd (past), Verdandi (present), and Skuld (future), who are the Norns and shape the destinies of men. There are also light-elves who come to men's homes and make them happy, as well as dark-elves who dwell in Manhem and who bring evil things to men.

Balder is Odin's second son, fair, gentle and good. He inhabits the place in Valhalla called Breidablik. All nature, excepting the mistletoe, swore not to injure Balder. Loke, the genius of evil, persuaded Hoder, who was blind, to shoot at Balder. Loke directed the arrow, made of the mistletoe; it entered Balder's breast and he fell dead. Great was the sorrow and grief that fell upon gods and men, for light, peace and happiness disappeared from the universe.

Frey rules over rain and sunshine and over the fruits of the earth. Freyja is the goddess of love. She rides in a car drawn by two cats, and one-half of the slain in battle belong to her. Brage is the Master-skald, the god of poetry, eloquence and wisdom. Tyr is daring and strong; he sways victory in war. The Wolf Fenris once bit off one of his hands; therefore he is a peace-maker.

Loke is the evil one; he dwells in Hel and causes trouble to gods and men. The gods dwell in Valhalla. Odin has two ravens who sit one on each shoulder, Hugin and Munin (thought and memory); they fly out

in the morning and bring to his ears all that happens in the world.

The Einherjars are great and brave men who fall in battle. The Valkyries (warmaids) pick them up from the battlefield and on their fiery steeds bring them to Valhalla, where they are welcomed and entertained by the Asas and waited upon by the beautiful maidens bearing horns filled with mead.

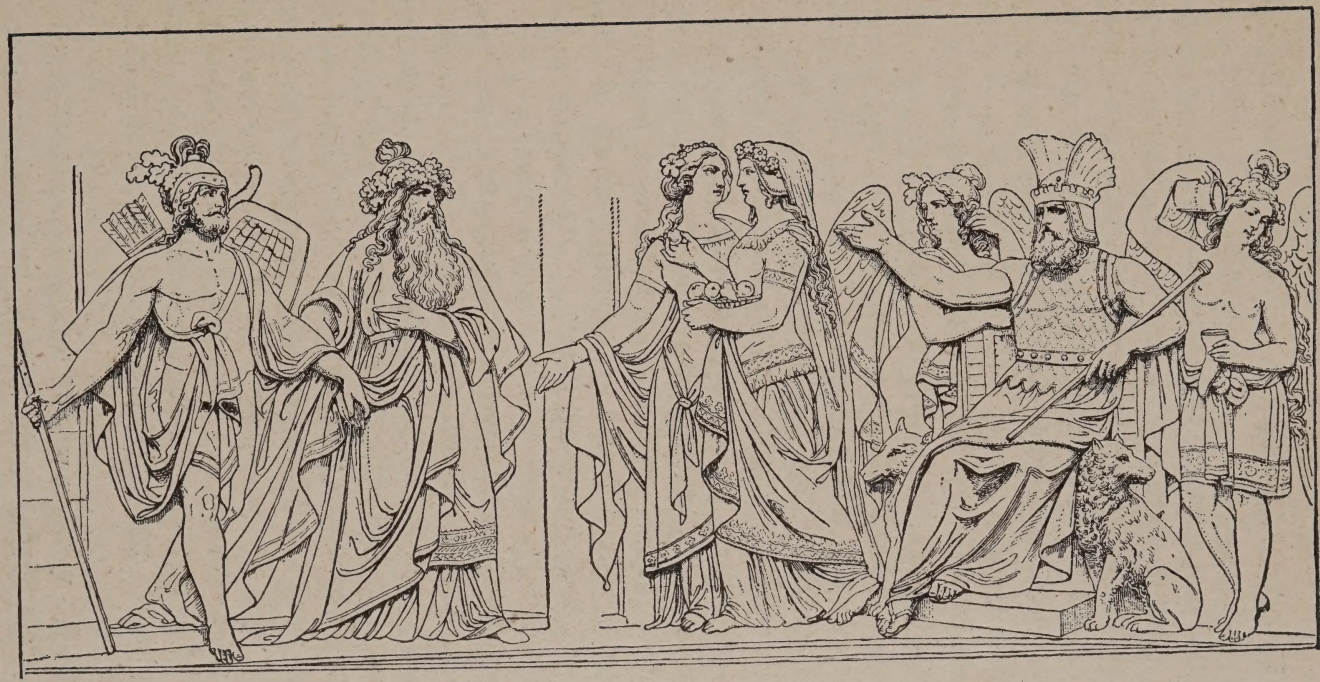
The belief in the gods and in the immortality of the soul which the people of Sweden in common with all the Norsemen professed, known as the Asa-faith, is the peculiar heritage of all the Germanic races. Among the Swedes this Asa-faith reached its fullest development, partly on account of the nature and character of the country and partly owing to peculiar conditions among the people; also because at Old Upsala there was located the great Asa-temple, where the Alsharjar (all the army) gathered once a year to make offerings to the gods and under whose shadow they held their Tings. An epitome of the religious belief of the Scandinavian pagans is more fully set forth in the elder and younger Eddas and in songs and sagas written or compiled by learned Icelanders; the Elder Edda by Saemund the Wise, and the younger Edda by Snorre, are written in the old Norse dialect, which was spoken in Iceland during the eleventh century, the time when the Eddas were compiled from old traditions and sagas.

The Asa-faith was originally a worship of Nature, that is to say, a worship which regards the different manifestations of nature as divine occurrences brought about by the direct interposition of the gods. The Norsemen looked upon the divinities in their Theogony

as abstract beings, and clothed them in human forms with attributes of the most perfect kind according to their ideas of perfection.

There was a happy time when the gods invented the arts most indispensable to man's life, wrought metals, stone and wood, showed in all things their divine power, possessed abundance of gold, sported and were merry; until their bliss was disturbed by the arrival of certain giants' maids from Jotunheim, when the peace made with the giants was broken. Odin hurled his spear among them and the flame of war was kindled. Then began that direful strife against the evil race, which continued until, after much suffering, the gods proved victorious, and bound Loke to the rock where the serpent above pours venom over him, and where he must remain until Ragnarok. When the gods retired to heaven the struggle was continued by the heroic families of earth who sprung from them. During this struggle Odin calls home to Valhalla the fallen, there to dwell with him until Ragnarok.

Such is an outline of the old religion of the North. In its internal force, in depth and in significance it is inferior to no theory of human origin on the beginning and end of things which found acceptance in the world of antiquity. Some others may approach it, but on none is originality of character more clearly stamped. This nature worship is peculiar of its kind in that it penetrates with prophetic vision into the inner mystery of the perishableness of this visible world. But it also looks forward to a life after this transitory existence. Hence the notion of immortality so deeply rooted in minds of our forefathers, which the Greeks and Romans ascribed equally to all Northern races.



DEN FALLNE KÄMPEN HELSAS I VALHALL

This Asa-faith also bore within itself the intimation of a higher and purer faith, which looks forward to the greater and mightier God, who after Ragnarok was to be ruler over the new earth. It is in this particular point that the Asa-faith is superior to all other heathen religions. The conception of a divine life after this earthly existence was more clearly defined among the Norsemen than among any other heathen nations. Death was, for the brave, faithful and just, simply the transition to a better life, and this future life was not a wasted, indolent life; it was a life of joy and pleasure for those who had been living a just and heroic existence; it was not like that of the Greeks, a miserable life in the shades. The Norsemen pictured to themselves a life of activity in communion with the gods, where they should live their lives over again as they were living them below. It was this religion that inspired the people of the North to acts of heroism and daring; there was no danger so great that they did not dare to face it in battle, careless whether they survived or fell—if they were victorious and survived they had their pleasure in this life, if they fell in battle they were gathered up from the battle field by the Valkyries on fiery steeds and transported to Odin in Valhalla, a heavenly abode where they were met by the gods and invited to their table, where they were served with cups filled with nectar and presented by beautiful maidens. Therefore the warrior could lose nothing by death, but would simply be transported, according to his belief, to a higher and better life, which would continue forever.

Divine worship was of two kinds, conducted either by direct appeal to the gods or by sacrifice; and this

sacrifice, like the sacrifice of all nations, was frequently blood sacrifice and was conducted under the open sky, upon an altar of stone, which was called Harg. Sometimes the gods were worshipped in temples erected to certain particular deities, which were decorated with and adorned by their images.

The Genius of the People and Their Social Relations.—The most prominent trait in the character of the individual Swede and Goth was a strong and lively consciousness of his own personality, his powers and independence as a free born person. To be free and independent, and to owe service to none—this was the aim of the free born man's struggles, and this was the height of his ambition. Daring, bravery and courage were the characteristics which were always appreciated, and they alone entitled a man to honor in this life, and a recompense after death. When a man died a violent death, either in battle or otherwise, he had the right of entering Valhalla to partake of its joys and pleasures and to dwell among the gods. In order to avoid a sick bed death, which was considered unworthy of a free and brave man, it was customary for these brave warriors, when death was approaching, to cut themselves with the point of a spear, "writing runes unto Odin." The ancestors of the Swedes and Goths were noted for their contempt of death; they possessed an unbending will, great courage and a love of fighting, which sometimes in the hour of battle developed into a wild frenzy called berserksgang. When their anger was aroused, and their passions inflamed, they often became revengeful and avoided any reconciliation with their enemies. They were wild and passionate in their desires, yet at the same time they pos-

sessed a high degree of shrewdness, while self-possession, alertness of mind, and swift decision were characteristics which were strengthened by an active life and constant exposure to danger. They did not despise wiliness and cunning; yet a man who was frank and dealt fairly with his enemy was highly appreciated. They often showed kindness to the weak and unprotected, were true to their promises and faithful in fulfilling all their obligations. A beautiful trait of the Swedes' and Goths' fidelity is manifested in the oath taken by fosterbrothers and sealed by the ceremony of mingling their blood in a bowl and swearing to enjoy the pleasures and dangers of life together and to avenge the other after death. The laws of hospitality were always recognized, and a guest had nothing to fear, even if he found himself under the roof of his enemy.

The earliest social conditions which obtained among the people of Sweden after the settlement of the country developed a strong feeling of personal independence among the settlers. The central organization in these communities was the tribe or family, and the father and husband ruled without interference on the part of his family.

The tribes or families composing a social organization formed a community noted for its strong bonds of relationship. If a man fell in battle it was the duty of his surviving relatives or friends to avenge his death; on this account there was often bloody strife between the different communities, which was only ended in many cases by the extermination of one of the tribes. The Chief of the tribe governed it with full power and authority; he controlled all the property

of the family and cultivated the land belonging to it, of which he was considered the sole possessor. He was called Odalman or Bonde. He was the sole ruler over all the members of the family, over wife and children, servants and slaves: he had absolute authority of life and death over the slaves; and could either reject or accept a new born child. In the latter case the new born babe was placed in his lap and was baptized with water and given a name. The women in Sweden were treated with much more respect and consideration than among other nationalities.. It is true that prior to marriage the young swain had to purchase his bride by presents to the bride's father, but after she had once become the man's lawful wife she took her position as the housewife: she was free and respected, and became the "housefru" with full power to manage the household. From the family as a unit was developed the community, which later became the parish. Those tribes who lived in close alliance and became related by marriage, united for common protection and formed what was called the harad or hundred: several of these hundreds were afterwards united and formed larger communities called fylkland,—folkland, a small province—finally these several provinces, either as a result of conquest or by voluntary consent, formed the greater organization of the kingdom. The system of government based upon such organizations of smaller or greater communities has been called a confederation. The hundred as well as the province decided their interests at popular gatherings called Tings. Those who conducted the affairs or transactions at these Tings were chiefs of the hundreds; these were also the individuals who conducted the rites when the

people offered sacrifices to the gods. Gradually each province appointed or elected its own chief, and these chiefs were called Law-men, because it was their duty to interpret the laws and explain them to the community. The Tings were held in the open air at a place near the sacred grove where sacrifices were offered. The bondes, or free landholders, assembled at these places; laws were passed, and all disputes were settled there; oaths of allegiance were taken and questions of war and peace determined: the gods were worshiped; sacrifices were made and a kind of commercial fair was held there also for the purpose of barter and exchange. The punishment for offenses and a breach of contract consisted mostly of fines and was a personal matter between the parties. Most of the crimes and offenses could be settled by a fine. It was, however, seldom that murder could be thus settled, the relatives of the dead refusing to accept any less compensation than the death of the murderer: crimes had not yet become the concern of the community. A man who considered himself offended generally sought satisfaction on his own account, and frequently such disputes were only to be settled by a duel, which would be fought on some island or peninsula, and was therefore called—holmgang. Robbery and burglary seldom occurred among free born men. Certain kinds of offenses were punished by banishment, such as sacrilege and a breach of the temple's peace.

Originally the chiefs of the hundred and the Lawmen of the provinces were the leading men of the community, but gradually there arose among and even over them more powerful chiefs, named petty kings, who were usually called Kings of fylkes, or Kings of the

provinces; they generally sprang from the ranks of a number of warriors, who had been engaged in war in foreign lands, had organized themselves together and proclaimed their leader King and Drott (chief priest). If he returned home crowned with victory and success, having won booty and military glory, he kept his title, and was respected in the community in time of peace. Aided by his body-guard of warriors he became a person of importance at home in his fylke, and having acquired property and wealth, his title of King and Drott descended to his children and descendants, if they were men of courage and good character.

When these petty kings began to govern their fylkes, or provinces, they acted in the capacity of high priests and their principal duty was to sacrifice to the gods for the people whose leaders they became in war. They had no precedence over their followers other than that they received contributions and usually a larger share of the booty in time of war. In other respects the people continued to govern themselves by passing their own laws at the Tings, and decided their disputes likewise. The system of government was a government by the people, or a limited democracy; but as it was only the free born landholder who had a voice in the assemblies, members of the community who were not their own men, but were employed by the bondes, had no voice in the Tings; whilst they were not slaves, they were not electors. The system of government soon became an oligarchy. It is thus apparent that even in the earliest times the governmental system of Sweden showed a mixture of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy.

The Elevation of the King.—The manner in which the Swedes in olden time elected their King was as follows: The upper Swedes met at Mora Stone, near Upsala. This was an open space, whereon were placed thirteen stones, twelve in a circle and one in the cen-

ter. The Law-men sat on the ring of stones and the King, when elected, on the center one. After the Bondes at the Als-harjar Ting had signified the man of their choice then did the Law-man of Upland adjudge him King if he was properly elected. The old law says,

"The Swedes have a right to elect their King and also to depose him." The most competent man became King. The King's son was often selected to succeed him because such men were competent, having been trained from childhood for their high office.

The ceremony was characteristic. After election the King was placed on a shield resting on the shoulders of stout warriors, who marched around and showed him to the people. These proceedings signified firstly, that he was elevated by the people to this high office, and secondly, that he could hold it only so long as he was supported by the people.

It was an old custom that after the election a herald should blow a blast on the horn or trumpet and then proclaim: "Now is A. B. elected King of the Svear and Gotar. He and none other." Many of these old customs have come down to the present day.

CHAPTER III.

THE PERIOD OF THE SAGAS.

Ynglinga Saga—Odin—Asgard—Odin and Gylfe—Edda—Odin Settles at Sigtuna—Odin and His Followers—Character and Manners—Odin's Death—Mound—Njord—Sacrifices—Frey Called Yngve Founder of Yngling Dynasty—Upsala the Seat of Government of the Swedes—Upsala Temple's Magnificence—The Palace of the King—Destruction—Freyja—Fjolner—First of the Ynglings—Visit to Frode in Denmark—Death—Golden Age of Sweden—Svegder Ruler—His Travels and Death—Visbur—His Two Wives—Murdered by His Sons—Donalde Ruler—Famine—Donalde Sacrificed—Domar Ruler—Famine Oracle—Disa—Complies with the Oracle—The People Saved—Domar's Death and Funeral—Dygve—Dag's Wisdom—Agne—Viking Expeditions—Skjalf—His Wife—His Manner of Death—Alrek and Eric—The Manner of Their Death.

The Heimskringla, which contains the Ynglinga saga, that is, the Chronicles of the Ynglings, the early Swedish Kings, represents Odin and the Asas historically as the founders of the Northern Monarchies, and these sagas also tell whence these fathers of Nations came, and what their origin was. They came from Asahem, the home of the gods, in which was located Asgard, a great place of sacrifice, where lived Odin, a victorious chief, surrounded by twelve Diar (priests) also called Drottnar (rulers) who were also judges among the people.

Odin came to Sweden with his followers, a company of wise, brave and powerful men. He found the country fair, and rich in natural resources. At that time a

king by the name of Gylfe was ruler over the people dwelling in Sweden. Odin and Gylfe tried the art of witchcraft and cunning upon each other; but the skill of the former was far superior to that of the latter, so they formed an alliance. Gylfe regarding Odin as a divine being, gave him and his followers the freedom of the country. The younger Edda relates how King Gylfe, who ruled over Svithiod, seeking to know the secrets of the gods, wandered far and wide until he came to Asgard. It was probably owing to these stories and the description of Svithiod that Odin was induced to migrate thither, if in fact such a migration did take place.

Odin took up his abode near by ancient Sigtuna upon the Malar Lake; built a temple to the gods and sacrificed after the manner of the Asas. His chiefs were named after the gods, equally honored, and were assigned dwelling places whose names corresponded with those of the gods. The land was called Manhem to distinguish it from Godhem, the country of the gods. It is said that all skill and cunning in the various arts of human life were derived from Odin and the Asas, who taught them to the people, and who profited greatly thereby. As Odin, the Alfather, was the greatest among gods, so Odin, the priest, was the greatest among the high priests and rulers.

Odin was a man of many accomplishments, which had much to do with his popularity. He was a poet and an eloquent speaker. When sitting among his friends his countenance was so calm and beautiful that all were charmed and delighted, but in war he was fierce and terrible; being stout-hearted and of good stature he inspired terror wherever he appeared on the

field of battle. He could make his enemies blind, and their weapons blunt so that they could not hurt his followers. On the other hand, the Asa folk, strong as bears or wild bulls, would rush forward with the speed of a whirlwind, without armor or shields, and with their sharp, keen-edged weapons, cut down their opponents; neither fire nor iron had any effect upon them. This sort of wild fighting was called "Berserkaraseri."

Odin could change his shape into that of an animal or a fish; he could also transport himself to distant lands. He had a ship which he could fold together, and he could sail against the wind. Probably he introduced sails and knew how to tack the vessel and beat to windward. He had two ravens which flew over all lands and brought him back news of what was going on in the world. He knew where missing things and treasures were concealed, and where gold and silver were hidden in the mountains and the earth. His enemies dreaded him; his friends trusted him and stood by him and followed his counsel. Odin was a great law-giver, prescribing rules for the people in peace and war, detailing the manner of offering sacrifice, and instructing men how best to please the gods. He established the law that all dead men should be burned, and declared that the nature of a man's reception in Valhalla depended upon the pomp with which his funeral obsequies had been celebrated. He further ordained that mounds should be raised over men of consequence, and great stones, called Bautastones, over distinguished warriors.

Ripe in years and advanced in age, Odin knew he was approaching death; so, to carry out his own teach-

ings he pierced himself with a spear in vital spots, saying he was going to Godhem to prepare a place in Valhalla for all his friends, and for all warriors who should fall in battle, where they were to live with him forever in bliss, and in the company of the gods. Odin was burned and there was a great display of splendor at the funeral pyre. His mound still exists at old Upsala in Sweden.

The Swedes believed that Odin often showed himself to them; that he fought with them; that if they called upon him he gave them victory in battle; that if they showed courage and fought bravely, were wounded and fell in the strife, he would take them to Valhalla. In either event they were happy.

After Odin's death, Njord, who was one of the Asas, became the chief Drott and ruler of the Swedes. He received contributions from the people, in return for which he was obliged to make sacrifices to the gods, and also to be the leader of the people in case of incursions by hostile tribes. In his time the country was blessed with peace and plenty. Njord died full of years, and in peace, but he insisted on dying in the Asa-faith by having "runes to Odin" written on his breast with the point of a spear. He was burned on a pyre and a great mound was raised over him. All Svithiod mourned his death.

Frey thereupon became Drott. Taxes were paid to him as they had been to his father. Good years and prosperity prevailed during his time, and he had many friends and the good will of all. Frey was also known by another name, Yngve, and from him the Ynglings are descended, who came in a direct line from the gods;

and so long as they were brave, good and just, they continued to rule over the Swedes.

Yngve built a great temple at Upsala and made that place the seat of government. All taxes and contributions and large tracts of land as well, he gave to the support of the temple which was thereafter called Upsala Oede—that is Upsala domains.

During his time also there was peace and plenty in the land, which blessings the people attributed to him, and as they had prospered so greatly they would not let him depart from them when he died; so he was not burned but was placed in a mound, and for three years tributes were paid to his memory in the shape of vast contributions of gold and silver which were placed in the Temple of Upsala. Frey was the god of the seasons, of rain and sunshine; and sacrifices were made to him to ensure abundant crops and a bounteous harvest.

During the time of Yngve there was a most famous temple at Old Upsala, near the City of Upsala, where the Archiepiscopal seat of the Swedes and Goths now stands. This temple was the principal seat of sacrifices in Scandinavia prior to the introduction of Christianity. It was built with such magnificence that there were no ornaments to be seen on the walls, roof or pillars which were not overlaid with gold. The whole upper portion of the fabric was also made of shining gold, whence a golden chain hung down which is recorded to have gone round about the temple to the walls and top of the building. Hence it was that the temple, situated on an elevation in the middle of a large plain, by its dazzling radiance begot in those who came near to it a veritable religious awe, and inspired them

with reverence for the gods. It was filled with treasures and precious stones, rare gems gathered from all lands.

There grew before the door of this magnificent temple a great tree of a kind unknown in these northern regions, which was always green, and upon whose branches blossoms of a sweet odor flowered continually; and a peculiarly sweet-flavored fruit grew upon it, which was said to have a wonderfully healing power over all diseases. There was also a beautiful grove of various kinds of trees surrounding the temple, and sacred to the gods.

In the temple itself there was a fountain, and a stream of living water flowed out therefrom, taking its course over the plain, and rushing toward the ocean.

This was the favorite spot for the assemblage of the Swedes and Goths. Here they sacrificed to the gods, and here was the bridge Bifrost which led to the gates of Asgard, the Valhalla of the ancients. Here Alsharjar of the Swedes and Goths met in full armor and elected their Kings by Mora stone which is close by; and here were held their Tings or Parliament.

This temple existed in all its glory long after Christianity had been introduced into Sweden, but when Christianity became the dominant religion and the offerings were discontinued, the temple was neglected and fell into decay. The influence of the priests caused the destruction of this once glorious edifice. The three large Kings' mounds, or Attehogar, of Odin, Thor and Frey are the sole remnants of the former glory of Old Upsala.

After Frey's death, Freyja alone of the gods remained; she became on this account much celebrated. All women are called "Fru" after her, and the wife is called "House-fru", the mistress of the house and of her own property. Freyja continued the blood sacrifices. Although very fickle-minded and capricious, she was called upon to promote love and matrimony. She brought blessings and prosperity to the house, and was worshiped as the household goddess.

Fjolner Yngve, Frey's son, became ruler over the Swedes at Upsala after his father's death, and was the first of the Ynglings. He was powerful, courageous, peaceable, and lucky in that during his time the seasons were favorable to the raising of fine crops; accordingly the people had abundance and were prosperous, and many sacrifices were made to the gods. King Frode ruled at that time in Leire, Denmark. Fjolner went to visit his friend Frode in Denmark. A great feast was prepared for him and his companions. They drank and were merry until late at night, when they retired to their sleeping rooms. King Frode had a large house in which he had built a great tank which was kept filled with mead, and was so situated that from the upper story of the house there was an opening in the top of the tank to draw the liquor. During the night Fjolner got up and wandered about in the darkness, came into the room where the mead tank was, fell in and was drowned. Hence the poet sang that Fjolner was drowned in Frode's house in a waveless and windless sea.

During the times that the gods ruled in Svithiod the people enjoyed an abundance of all earthly goods; peace and plenty, joy and happiness filled the land.

This was the golden age of Sweden. But when the descendants of the gods began to rule, evil also began to contend with good, and even the good proved to be a misfortune to humanity, as in the case of Fjolner, who was drowned in the tank of abundance.

Svegder, who succeeded to power after the death of his father Fjolner, was pious, and desired to penetrate into the mysteries of the gods. He traveled far and wide over all lands and was gone five years; when he returned he remained for some time in Svithiod. Then he started a second time in search of Asgard to consult with the gods. He came to a mansion called Sten where there was a stone as large as a house. As he was returning in the evening from a feast which he had attended he passed this large stone and saw a dwarf sitting in an opening under it who beckoned to him to come in. Sevgder in drunken bravado replied "I will follow thee to Odin," and walked in; the stone closed behind him, and he never came back.

When no news had come from Svegder for a long time his son Vanlande became ruler over Upsala domain in Svithiod. He was a great warrior, and with his ships went far and wide waging war in other lands. He came to Finland and conquered the Finns. He received King Suon's daughter, Drifa, in marriage. Having stayed over the winter in Finland he departed, leaving Drifa behind, and promising to return in three years. They had one son called Visbur. More than three years elapsed and still Vanlande did not return. Therefore, by means of witchcraft Drifa caused the Nightmare Mara to tread upon him at night until he died. The Swedes burned his body and raised a great Bautastone to his memory.

Visbur upon the death of his father became ruler over the Swedes. He took to wife a daughter of Aude the rich, by whom he had two sons. Then he left her and took another wife, who presented him with a son called Donalde. This was the commencement of that family strife which always terminates unfortunately for all concerned. The sibyl Huld prophesied that murders should not be wanting in the Yngling race.

The two elder sons collected men and arms, and in the night time fell upon their father Visbur and burned him in his house. The murderers were driven away by the Swedes and did not gain anything by their bloody deed, but their half-brother, Donalde, ruled over the land after his father.

In his time there was great famine and distress in Svithiod. The Swedes made great sacrifices at Upsala. The first year they sacrificed oxen; the next year there was no improvement in the harvest and so they sacrificed men, expecting a good harvest the succeeding year, but no better harvest followed, and when the third autumn arrived all the Swedes met at the temple at Upsala. They took counsel together, and the chief men decided that the hard times were due to Donalde their ruler, and that he should be sacrificed for the good of the people, and so they took him and killed him, and sprinkling his blood on the altars of the gods, they prayed for better times in the future.

Domar, the son of the sacrificed Donalde, now ruled in his stead. It is related in other sagas that the times did not improve during the following years, and that hunger and drought prevailed.

THE SAGA OF KING DOMAR AND DISA THE BEAUTIFUL.

Great was the famine in Sweden. The people died in countless numbers, and as in those days they believed that their Ruler was to blame for all their misfortunes, they petitioned him for relief. The King in his despair sought counsel of the high priest, who, after consulting the oracles, announced to him that the gods were angry with the people and required as a sacrifice the slaughter of one-half of the population in order to save the other half, but that this terrible expedient could be avoided if a lovely and beautiful woman of the kingdom would present herself before the throne of the palace and plead the cause of the unfortunate people. The oracle further required that the fair intercessor should come neither clad nor unclad, neither walking, riding nor driving; she must come neither at night nor in the daytime, when the moon was neither on the wax nor on the wane. The response of the oracle was proclaimed to the populace and great was the consternation it caused among the sufferers, for it seemed impossible to comply with the demand of the gods.

There were many sceptics who doubted the celestial origin of this oracle and insisted that this was simply a conspiracy between the King's ministers, who had neglected to provide for the people, and the high priest, who thought that the people had not been generous enough in their sacrifices; the latter would now have an opportunity of enriching his own coffers if the sentence of death was carried out, and would at the same time destroy all the heretics.

Disa, a young and comely maiden, heard of the

oracular decree and at once resolved to save her people and her country. Her heart overflowed with pity for the unfortunate and starving population. She considered that as her people were a warlike people and the men had immortalized themselves on the field of battle, it was now time for woman to save the country even at the greatest risk. The King cursed the court ladies who would not raise a finger to save the unfortunate people of his realm from destruction. The ladies argued that the priest had devised the oracle for the purpose of disgracing them.

Disa then put her plan into execution. At early dawn, before the rising of the sun, and when the moon was full, Disa, surrounded by a great multitude, was seen approaching the palace partly resting on a cart drawn by two white harts. On the left side of the cart was harnessed a ram upon whose neck she rested her left leg booted and spurred. Her naked loveliness was visible through a garb of transparent light blue netting, with a girdle of roses surrounding her waist and her golden hair flowing down over her back. Thus arrayed, Disa, secure in her virtue, having interpreted rightly the divine oracle, appeared before the King to plead the cause of the people, in spite of the ridicule of the court ladies and the favorites of the King. She threw herself at the foot of the throne and begged for the revocation of the edict calling for the destruction of the people. Domar, moved by the plea of the beautiful suppliant and full of emotion, hastened to spread his royal mantle over her prostrate form, and declaring her worthy to be his consort, made her his Queen and disgraced and dismissed the high priest and the minis-

ter of finance. Provision was made for feeding the starving multitude and the land was happy and contented.

King Domar reigned for many years longer, and ever after Disa's self-sacrifice and wise counsel and sympathy for the people the land was blessed with peace and plenty. Domar died at Upsala, and was burned on a great funeral pyre on Fyrisvall, where a great bautastone was raised to his memory. Domar was the first of his family to be given title of King. Heretofore, the rulers were called Drottnar and their wives Drottningar. A Drott was a high priest who performed the sacrifices.

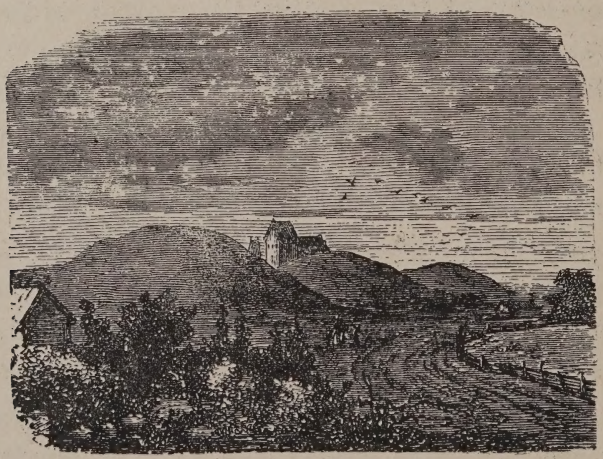
Dygve, son of Domar, succeeded him in Upsala estate as ruler of the land. His mother was Drat, a daughter of King Daup of Denmark.

Dag succeeded his father Dygve. He was said to be so wise that he understood the language of birds. He had a sparrow which came to him every day and told him the news. A farmer killed the sparrow in the field and Dag was so wroth that he called out the army and plundered the bonde. When they went back to their ships a slave rushed at them as they were embarking and threw a hayfork among them. It struck the King on the head and felled him dead.

Agne, Dag's son, now became king. He was a powerful and famous man, expert and well-skilled in all athletic feats, and a great warrior. He invaded the Eastern coast of the Baltic and conquered the Finns. Their chief, Fraste, was killed, and a large amount of booty and treasures were taken by the victors. He carried away Fraste's daughter, Skjalf, and brought

her to Stocksund, now Stockholm, where he married her. To the wedding he invited all the celebrated men, and there was a great feast and much drinking in honor of the occasion. The King carried a gold chain around his neck. When he had gone to sleep at night Skjalf took a rope and fastened it to the chain, threw it over a branch of a tree and hanged him with her own hands. Moral: Beware of the woman you have injured.

Alrek and Eric of the Ynglings became joint rulers of Sweden after Agne. They made incursions among the people dwelling on the east and south shores of the Baltic and brought home great riches. The land was full of plenty and blest with good harvests. Both Kings were great lovers of horses. One day they were on a hunting trip in the woods and became separated from their followers; as they did not return their retinue sought them only to find both dead, having killed each other with the bridles of their horses.



Kings' Mounds, Old Upsala.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOTHS.

320—711.

Goths of Sweden—Migration and Route—Origin of the Goths on the Dnieper—Roman Provinces—Jordanes—Menzel's Account of the Goths—Ostrogoths and Visigoths—Their Habitation in Sweden—Charles XII. and the Goths—Similarity of Language—Relation Between Goths of Sweden and Goths of Southern Europe—Goths the Emperor's Guard—Roman Coins in Swedish Museum—Their Dates—Roman Subsidies sent to Sweden—Tradition of the Goths in Sweden and Italy—Causes of Later Migrations—Goths in the Ukraine—Invasion of the Roman Territory—First Conflict with Roman Army—Cniva King of the Goths at the Walls of Nicopolis—Siege of Philippopolis—Decius Advances against the Goths—They Retreat—Attack on the Romans—Plunder Their Camp—Destruction of Philippopolis—Goths Surrounded by the Romans—Negotiations for Peace—Demands of the Roman Emperor—Battle of the Forum Terebronii—Death of the Emperor—Victory of the Goths—Conflict with the Huns—Death of Attila—Theodoric King of the Goths in Italy—Extinction of the Goths.

The Goths who lived in the central and southern part of the Swedish peninsula during the early Christian era rapidly increased in number. Famine occurred at frequent intervals, for the resources of the country were limited. The inhabitants being of an adventurous disposition, sought to conquer other lands, and during the second century they embarked in considerable numbers and, leaving Sweden, crossed the Baltic and followed the stream of the Vistula; thence they crossed over the Dnieper or to the Danube and made inroads

into the Eastern portion of the Roman Empire. They are known in history as the Goths, who during the fourth century conquered the Roman legions and later erected a Gothic kingdom on the ruins of Rome.

Map of the world as known to the Swedes during Pagan and Viking times. The dotted line shows the route of the Goths and the Vikings.

The Gothic Historian, Jordanes, a Bishop in Italy, and of Gothic descent, relates that the Goths originally came from Scandia (Scania, Skane) the Southern peninsula of Sweden. When they landed on the con-

tinent many warlike tribes formed an alliance with them, and their numbers were increased constantly by the arrival of detachments of their kindred from Sweden. Wolfgang Menzel the German historian says: "Toward the close of the second century the great nation of the Goths, accompanied by countless other Northern tribes, descended from the North to the coast of the Black Sea. Tradition records that the ancestors of the Goths sailed in three ships commanded by King Berig, from their ancient home Gothland in Sweden to the German side of the Baltic, and landed at Dantzig. One of their ships arrived later than the rest; the men on board of it received the name of Gepidae, from the word gapa, to stare idly, to delay, to gape. They became known by that name in history afterwards." We doubt that a brave people like the Gepidae would assume and retain such an odious name, as one who stands and "gapar" is a thoughtless, silly and half idiotic person. Bradley in his history of the Goths, relating the same picturesque event, derives Gepidae from the Gothic word "gepanta," meaning slow. It may not improperly be applied to this body of the Gothic race, as the Gepidae were not in the advance rank of the conquering Goths.

According to the early historians, who are followed by Zimmerman and other German writers, and especially by the great historian Gibbon in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in which he gives much attention to the Goths, and from songs and sagas and other historical evidence, it may fairly be concluded that the Goths from Sweden became the dominant race which for several centuries during the decline of Rome

swept over the European continent. The Goths were the leaders, the nucleus around which other Germanic peoples and nations clustered. They are described as tall, powerful and athletic, with light hair and beards and fair complexions, a description which corresponds more nearly to the Swedes of central and upper Sweden than to any other people. The account of their dress and manners of life also corresponds with that of the inhabitants of that country during these times. Whether the Ostrogoths and Visigoths were so distinguished from each other by their relative situations on the Danube, or by their early home in Sweden cannot be determined on positive historical evidence. But the two Swedish provinces of East Gothland, inhabited by the Ostrogoths, and West Gothland, inhabited by the Visigoths, have retained their names, individuality, laws, customs and peculiarities for more than 2,000 years, and no places on the map of Europe bear the same names. The name of "Swede" was generally adopted by the whole country but it did not on that account extinguish the identity of the Goths. The Swedes have always claimed a kinsman's share in the glory of the Goths. In a moment of discontent with the court of Rome, Charles XII., addressing the Nuncio of the Vatican, said:—"My victorious troops have not degenerated, but still resemble my ancestors who once conquered the Mistress of the World."

The close similarity between the Runic alphabet of Sweden during the Pagan times and the Gothic writings as contained in Ulfilas' translation or version of the Bible, made during the fourth century, may here be considered as showing the close relationship between the Goths of Sweden and the Goths of the Danube. Many words in the Gothic version are the same as those

found in the earliest Swedish writings, and in the laws of West Gothland. Certain runes are used in both texts.

The following "Lord's Prayer" is from the original Gothic Codex Argenteus of Bishop Ulfilas' Bible, now preserved at Upsala University, Sweden, printed here, however, in modern type.

The compound "th" is a single character in the old Swedish, and in Gothic the same as the old rune.

Atta unsar thu in himinam veihnai namo thein. qimai thiudinassus theins. vairthai vilja theins. sve in himina jah ana airthai. hlaif unsarana thana sinteinan gif uns himma daga. jah aflet uns thatei skulans sijaima. svasve jah veis afletam thaim skulam unsaraim. jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai. ak lausei uns af thamma ubilin. unte theina ist thiudangardi. jah mahts jah vulthus. in aivins. amen.

In studying comparative philology, whilst we find the word "theod" in other ancient languages to mean people, this must, nevertheless, be said, that there appears to be no nation or people to whom it has been applied except Svithiud (Svithiod) which is the Kingdom of the Swedes (Sviar rike).

Ulfilas uses the "thiudinassus" and "thiudangardi" to express the "Kingdom" of God. The "gard" in Swedish is "home," or "dwelling," and is applied to gods and men. "Asgard" is the home of the gods.

Luke, Chap. 18, v. 17: "Andnimith thiundagarda Goths sve barn," is plain Swedish; "anamma riket af Gud (Guds rike) som barn," translated into English "to receive the Kingdom of God as a little child."

Many other examples could be adduced to show a similarity between the two languages, the Gothic and the old Swedish.

These warlike and commercial relations between the North and the South continued uninterruptedly for centuries, and the numbers of the continental Goths were constantly augmented by Swedes and Goths who left their Northern homes for the South and there joined their kindred. The Roman historians relate that the Goths pressed hard upon the Empire and that tribute was paid to them by the Roman Emperors. This tribute in gold and silver, in coins and ornaments, found its way to Sweden in great abundance.

Many of the Swedes and Goths were retained as

the bodyguard of the Eastern Roman Emperors, for their loyalty was more to be relied upon than that of the Romans. The communications between these warriors at Constantinople and their kindred at home were frequent and continuous.

A visit to the National Museum at Stockholm and an inspection of the large quantity of Roman coins, gold and silver jewels and ornaments, armor, swords, vessels and statuary found in mounds, graves, peat-beds, lakes and ruins which are exhibited there must convince a fair-minded person that close and constant intercourse took place between the people of Sweden and the Roman Empire, before the former became Christianized.

These vast treasures have been found in various parts of Sweden, on the Eastern coast as well as in the central provinces. More than 320 gold coins of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, dating from 457 to 474 A. D., have been found buried in the ground in Sweden. Coins of later dates have been found in even greater number. The source of this gold stream was doubtless the subsidy which the Romans were compelled to pay the Goths who at first fought against them and later made an alliance with them.

Theodosius the Second in 477 A. D. was forced by the Goths to increase their subsidy from 700 to 2,100 pounds of gold. Leo the First (457-474) refused to pay the subsidies. The Empire was accordingly invaded, and to pacify the Goths their subsidy was increased by 300 pounds of gold. Zeno (474-491) who succeeded Leo, paid enormous sums to Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, to secure his alliance and protection.

The fact that such large quantities of the gold coins found in ruins and mounds in Sweden bear the names and dates of these three Roman Emperors is an argument in favor of the Goths being closely related to the Goths of Sweden.

It is not only gold and silver coins that have been found under ruins and in the ground in Sweden, but also arm rings, buckles and ornaments for shields, swords and helmets. One of the largest treasures that has been found in Sweden,—in fact in Europe—was found on the estate of Tureholm in Sodermanland, belonging to Count Bjelke. An old wooden building had been torn down, and on clearing the ground and digging up the soil, about one foot below the surface there were discovered a large number of gold coins, rings large and small, plain and chased, buckles and ornaments, the whole weighing 29 pounds and estimated to be worth over $30,000. One of the rings was intended to be worn around the neck and weighed about two pounds and was 98 per cent pure gold. Of the several articles of this treasure, some date from the period above described and some from the sixth century.

Through songs and sagas successive generations of the Goths were able to preserve a faint tradition of their Scandinavian origin during their victorious marches through the Roman Empire. A distinct account of the times and circumstances of their emigration cannot be expected. The inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels with oars, and the distance from Carlskrona to the nearest ports of Pomerania, Prussia, and Riga on the Dyna is little more than 100 miles. Here we find our-

selves on firm and historic ground at least as early as the Christian era, and the records continue as late as the age of the Antonines. The Goths were established in Sweden and on the Vistula and along the shores of the Baltic. It would seem that they were subdivided into Ostro-Goths and Visi-Goths during the earlier period of their history. About the reign of Alexander Severus, Dacia had already experienced their proximity in the shape of frequent and destructive inroads. The Goths continued to move Eastward from the Baltic following the rivers Dyna and Vistula, crossing the uplands of what is now Western Russia and then going by way of the rivers Dnieper and Dniester or Danube across the Euxine Sea to Constantinople. Either a pestilence or a famine, a victory or a defeat, an oracle of the gods or the eloquence of a daring leader, served to impel the Gothic people to march towards the milder climates of the South. Besides the influence of a martial religion, the numbers and spirit of the Goths were equal to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round bucklers and short swords rendered them formidable in a close engagement; the manly obedience which they yielded to hereditary Kings gave uncommon union to their councils; and the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, and the tenth ancestor of Theodoric, King of Italy, enforced, by the ascendency of personal merit, the prerogative of his birth, which he derived from the Asas, or demi-gods of the Gothic nation.

The Goths had at this time taken possession of the Ukraine, a tract of territory of considerable extent and uncommon fertility intersected by navigable rivers and

interspersed with large and lofty forests. The country was rich in game, fish and honey. The soil was productive, the temperature of the air was moderate and nature seemed to provide an abundance for the support of man. Here the Goths dwelt for a while, but they did not take kindly to husbandry. The prospect of the Roman territories close by was far more alluring. So the invaders traversed the richly cultivated Province of Dacia and passed the Dniester and the Danube without encountering any opposition capable of retarding their progress.

The relaxed discipline of the Roman troops betrayed the most important posts where they were stationed, and the fear of deserved punishment induced great numbers of them to enlist under the Gothic standard. The various multitude of the Goths and their allies appeared at length under the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honor of his sister, and at that time the capital of the second Moesia. The inhabitants consented to ransom their lives and property by the payment of a large sum of money, and the invaders retreated across the Dniester animated by,rather than satisfied with,the first success of their arms against an opulent but feeble country. Intelligence was soon transmitted to the Emperor Decius, that Cniva, King of the Goths, had passed the Danube a second time with more considerable forces; that his numerous detachments had scattered devastation over the province of Moesia, whilst the main body of the army, consisting of seventy thousand Goths and their allies, a force equal to the most daring achievements, required the presence of the Roman Monarch, and the manifestation of his military superiority.

Decius found the Goths engaged before Nicopolis. On his approach they raised the siege, but only with the design of marching away to a conquest of greater importance, the siege of Philippopolis.

Decius followed them through a difficult country by forced marches; but while he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop of the victorious Goths; who now returned and took Philippopolis by storm. A hundred thousand persons were massacred, the city was sacked and plundered, and the enemy obtained an immense booty. Decius reorganized his legions. He intercepted several parties of the Carpi and Germans who now prepared to share in the victories of the Goths, and exerted himself to the utmost to check their advances.

The Goths were now on every side surrounded and pursued by the Roman arms. The flower of their troops had perished before Philippopolis, and the exhausted country could no longer support the warlike multitude. They would gladly have purchased, by the surrender of their booty, the permission to retire undisturbed. But the Emperor, confident of victory, and resolved, by the chastisement of these invaders, to strike a salutary terror into the Nations of the North, refused to listen to any terms of agreement. The high-spirited Goths, who still clung to the faith of their fathers, preferred death and Valhalla to disgrace and slavery. An obscure town of Moesia, called Forum Terebronii, was the scene of the battle. The Gothic

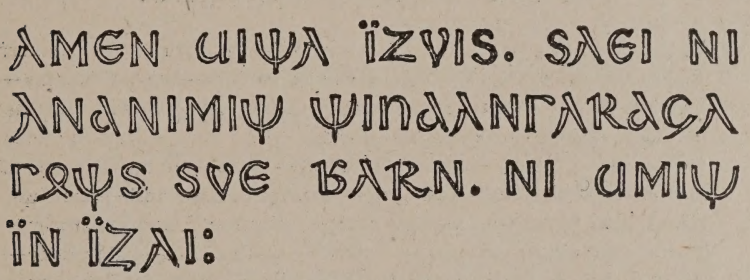
army was drawn up in three lines, the front of the third line being covered by a morass. In the very beginning of the action one of the sons of Decius was killed by a Gothic arrow in the sight of his father. The conflict was terrible; it was a combat of despair on the part of the Goths against grief and rage on the part of the Romans. The first line of the Goths at length gave way in disorder; the second, advancing to sustain it, was driven back with great loss; and the third only remained entire, prepared to dispute the passage of the morass, which was imprudently attempted by the overconfident, because now victorious, enemy. Here the fortune of the day turned, and all things became adverse to the Romans; the ground was heavy with ooze, which gave way under those who stood still, and offered but a slippery surface to such as advanced; their armor was heavy; the waters were deep; nor could they, in that uneasy situation, wield their weighty javelins. The Goths on the contrary were inured to encounters in the bogs, and their great height as well as their long spears enabled them to inflict wounds at a considerable distance. In this morass the Roman army, after an ineffectual struggle, was irretrievably lost; nor could the body of the Emperor ever be found. Whilst the Goths had lost heavily in this encounter, their victory was complete and the Roman Empire lay open to them; and they were not slow in following up their advantage. Hostilianus became Emperor with Gallus as his associate whose first care was to deliver the Illyrian provinces from the intolerable weight of the victorious enemy. They retained the rich fruits of their invasion, an immense booty, and a large number of the wealthy and important citizens

of the Roman Empire. Their camp was supplied with every convenience that could assuage their angry spirits, or facilitate their so much wished for departure; and the Emperor even promised to pay them annually a large sum of gold, on condition that they should never afterwards infest the Roman territories by their incursions. The Goths, by this victory and its consequences, became conscious of their superiority, and step by step they made their power felt within the Roman Empire. It was a new power within the state which could not be so readily shaken off.

Ermanaric who seems to have been chosen King of the Goths in the year 350 was a great warrior. He did not pursue the same course as his ancestors by plundering and destroying surrounding nations. He established his empire on the banks of the Dnieper, where he succeeded well for a while, but his people, being of a roving disposition, did not take kindly to a settled and domestic life. He died in the year 375. From this time until the death of Attila A. D. 453 the Goths kept up a constant struggle with the Huns, and at last became independent. The great Theodoric of the royal line of the Goths was destined to raise the Ostrogothic nation to the highest position among the people of the Teutonic stock. The name of Theodoric is the most glorious in Gothic history. It was he who in the year 488 advanced from the banks of the Danube across Southern Europe into Italy, which appeared to the Goths a sort of promised land. Theodoric marched down and took possession of Italy, where he established his throne on the ruins of the Caesars, but he proved to be one of the wisest and best Monarchs

that had ruled over Italy for many centuries. After his death Gothic Kings ruled in this country for about 150 years, when on account of their small number the Goths were gradually absorbed and eventually lost to history.

NOTE.—The following is a fac-simile from Ulfilas' Gothic New Testament, Luke, Chap. 18, v. 17, referred to on page 49:



SWEDISH VERSION.

Sannerligen säger jag eder; hvilken som icke anammar Guds rike som ett barn, han kommer aldrig därin.

ENGLISH VERSION.

Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE VIKINGS.

Yngve and Alf—Yngve a Great Warrior—Alliance with Goths against Rome—Ships and Booty—Alf's Jealousy of Bera—Double Murder—Hugleik King—Peace in the Land—Hake and Hagbard Invade Svithiod—Battle of Fyrisvall—Jorund and Sirik—Yngve's Sons Celebrated Vikings—Return to Upsala—Battle—Funeral Pyre of Hakon—Jorund King—Ane King—Invasion of the Danes—Ane Sacrifices Nine Sons—Death—Egil King—Treasurer Tunne Embezzler—Tunne's Conspiracy—Highway Robbers—Egil's Death—Ottar King—Adils Viking in Saxland Marries Yrsa—Helge Rules in Denmark—Rolf Krake Invades Svithiod—Scatters Gold on Fyrisvall—Adils' Death—Oesten Ruler—Sea Kings—Salve Victorious—Yngvar a Warrior—Invasion of Eastern Country—Anund Ruler—Encourages Husbandry—His Death—Ingjald Ilrada's Banquet—Petty Kings Murdered—Ivar Vidfamne Destroys Ingjald—Olaf Tratalja—Descent of Norwegian Kings—Yngling Kings Extinct—Ivar Dynasty—Auda—Randver—Sigurd Ring—Harald of Denmark—War with King of Sweden—Battle of Bravalla—Harald's Funeral Pyre—Sigurd Ring's Death.

The Ynglinga Saga relates that Alrek had two sons, Yngve and Alf, who succeeded as joint rulers and Drotts in Svithiod. In manners, character and intellect the two men were very different. Yngve was possessed of all the manly virtues. Handsome, strong, and athletic, a great warrior, and always successful in battle, he was also generous and affable, and had many friends. He had gained many victories as an ally of the Goths against the Romans and other nations on the continent. His ships had plowed every sea, and

on his return to Upsala he had brought home great booty of silver, gold and costly raiments.

His brother Alf was small in stature, a silent, conceited man, arbitrary and domineering toward his inferiors, who stayed home at Upsala and spent his time in sacrificing. He had a wife called Bera, a beautiful, fair and most agreeable woman, bright and intelligent, in manners fascinating and gay.

King Yngve returned home from his Viking expeditions possessed of immense wealth and crowned with glory. His many acts of daring and the victories he had won were constant topics of conversation at the court, where festivities continued uninterruptedly.

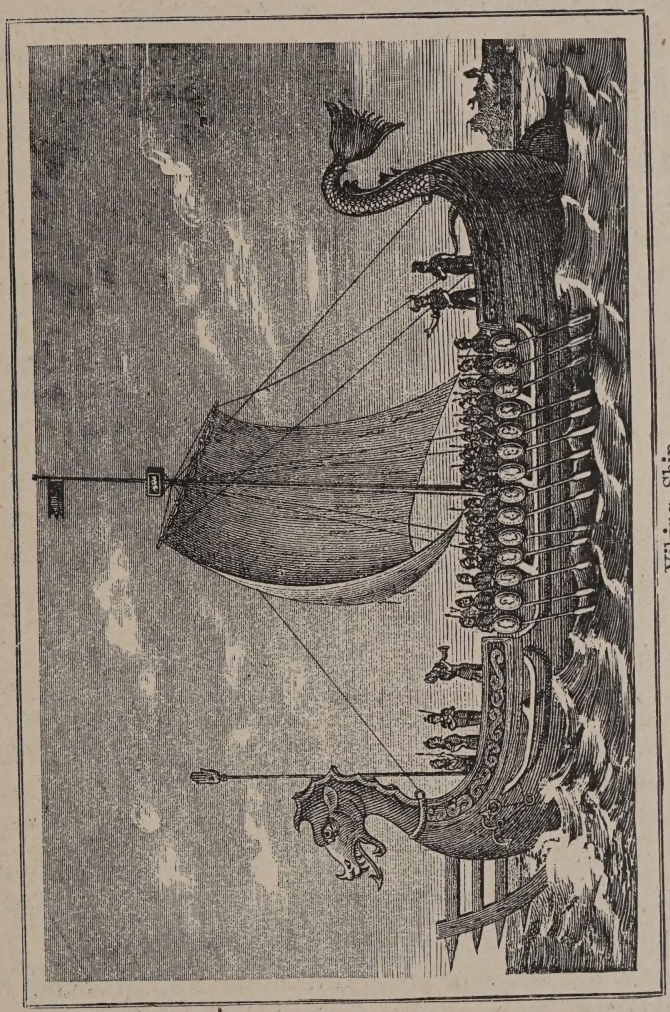
Yngve often sat long in the evenings at the drinking table with his companions and the ladies of the court, telling stories of battles, adventures and hairbreadth escapes. Alf took no pleasure in these entertainments but went to bed and to sleep early. His queen Bera sat with Yngve at the table and enjoyed his company. Alf upbraided her, and told her she must go to bed before he did, and not disturb him in his sleep, to which Queen Bera replied: "Happy would be the woman who had Yngve for her husband, a man with so many extraordinary qualities of mind and character." One evening when Yngve and Bera were sitting at the table in the high seats, and all the guests were merry and happy, King Alf came unobserved into the banquet hall, walked up to King Yngve, drew a sword from under his cloak and stabbed his brother. Yngve leaped up quickly, drew his sword and struck Alf with it, killing him instantly. Both fell dead on the floor, and both were buried in mounds on the Fyrisvall.

The sons of Yngve were still children, so Hugleik, Alf's son, was elected King. He was no warrior and remained at Upsala attending to the sacrifice. He inherited wealth from his father, was greedy, selfish, and domineering like him. He maintained a great state at his court where he kept players, fiddlers, dancers, magicians and witches. A curse had been pronounced upon his ancestors which seemed to follow them from one generation to the next.

There were two brothers, celebrated Sea-kings, who had commanded a great force of armed men and berserkers, called Hake and Hagbard. King Hake came with his troops to Svithiod to fight King Hugleik, who on his side collected a large force of his men to oppose Hake. Hake had twelve berserkers, men of great power, and was himself a terrible combatant. They fought with wild desperation. Hake was victorious; many of Hugleik's men fell and his two sons were killed. This battle took place on Fyrisvall, and was celebrated in songs and sagas composed in honor of Hake.

Hake subdued the country and ruled at Upsala for three years. Jorund and Sirik, the sons of the celebrated Yngve, had been sailing in their ships on viking expeditions to distant lands, and had become celebrated for their many victories in Denmark and on the western coast of Europe. They fought a battle with the King of Denmark, cleared his ship and took him prisoner. Their reputation was spread far and wide. When they heard that Hake ruled in Svithiod and that he had sent his companions away to other lands they steered homeward with their companions. When the

Swedes heard that the Ynglings had arrived in Lake Malaren, they flocked to them in great numbers. The brothers advanced toward Upsala against King Hake



Viking Ship.

who came out to meet them with a smaller army, yet he cut right and left among their ranks and killed Sirik, whereupon Jorund fled to his ships, but Hake

had received so many wounds that he felt near to death. He then ordered his men to place him, together with his dead companions, with arms and treasures on one of his ships, hoist all sail and put her out to sea, which was done. The wind blowing from the land filled the sails of the vessel, which had been set on fire, and all ablaze it went swiftly to sea and out of sight. So sailed Hake to Odin in Valhalla. This deed became famous in after times. Jorund returned to Upsala and assumed the government, but spent the summers with his men on viking expeditions. He was killed in Denmark.

Aun, or Ane, Jorund's son, became King over Svithiod. He was a wise and just man. As high priest he made sacrifices to all the gods, and the people enjoyed prosperous times. But the Danish Kings sailed their warships into Lake Malaren, and on two occasions Ane was driven from Upsala and fled to his kindred, the Goths in West Gothland, but after twenty-five years he came again to the kingdom, and lived to an old age. The sagas tell that every tenth year he offered one of his sons and received Odin's promise that his days should be prolonged ten years for every son he sacrificed. When he was 180 years he had offered nine sons, and had only one son left. The Swedes would not allow this son to be sacrificed, and so Ane the Old died, and was placed in the mound, and his son Egil became King in his stead.

Egil was a lover of peace and quiet, and attended to the sacrifices of the temple. Much gold and silver had accumulated in the royal treasury during the previous reign. Ane the Old had appointed Tunne, a slave, his counsellor and treasurer, and when the old King died

Tunne proved himself to be a modern embezzler. He robbed the treasury, took the gold, silver and jewels, removed them and buried them in the earth.

When Egil became King he appointed another treasurer, and Tunne was placed among the other slaves. They formed a conspiracy, dug up the treasures and fled to the woods. All classes of criminals flocked to Tunne and they divided the spoils. Thereupon they began a course of steady robbery throughout the country. The King called out his army, and a lengthy struggle began, as many as eight battles taking place. The King was the loser each time, and at length fled to Denmark. King Frode sent his army with Egil to Sweden, and was met by Tunne. This time the latter was defeated and slain, and all his followers were killed or banished from the country. Egil was afterwards gored to death by a wild bull when out hunting.

Ottar, the son of Egil, became King in Svithiod after his father. There was no love lost between him and Frode, King of Denmark, and both parties began to ravage and burn each other's country. Ottar was killed in Denmark.

Adils, Ottar's son, became his successor in Svithiod, and reigned for many years. He was rich and possessed many cattle, servants, and plenty of cultivated land. He had also vessels manned with good men, and sailed every summer to foreign lands on trading or viking expeditions, whichever would be the most remunerative. Once Adils with his fleet came to Saxonland. They went to the palace but the King was away on a tour. A herd of cattle was seized and driven to the ships. There was among the prisoners of war

a beautiful, bright and intelligent girl called Yrsa. King Adils fell in love with her and she became Queen of Svithiod, and a great favorite in her adopted country.

King Helge at this time ruled in Denmark. He came with a great army to fight Adils, who lost the battle and fled into the country. Yrsa, his Queen, was carried captive to Denmark, but was released and returned to Upsala. Adils also had wars with a King of Norway.

King Helge of Denmark took Yrsa to be his wife during her captivity and they had born to them a son called Rolf Krake, who in the sagas became a renowned champion. Once he attacked the Swedes at Upsala, but they drove him off. Rolf Krake and his men fled. He had with him a horn full of gold which he scattered on the road; as the pursuers stopped to pick up the gold he gained time to escape. Hence the gold is called "Rolf Krake's seed," and "Fyrisvall's seed," because this happened on the plain of Fyrisvall. King Adils fell from his horse and was killed during a sacrificial feast at Upsala.

Oesten, Adils' son, then became ruler in Upsala. During his time there were many sea fights between the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, and not always between the Kings who governed as the lawful rulers, but between a large number of Sea-kings who were just what we call pirates, feeding upon the commerce of the countries and the peoples around the Baltic and the western coast of Europe. A man who had neither a foot of ground nor a roof over his head, and who lived on his ship might well be called a Sea-king.

While one of the Sea-kings, Salve, was plundering the countries on the Baltic he came unexpectedly to Svithiod during a feast which was being held by Oesten. Salve surrounded his house, set fire to it, and burned Oesten and all his company to death. Salve then attempted to gain recognition by the Swedes as their King, but they assembled a great army and replied to his demands that they would not have a robber, a pirate and a murderer to rule over them, and then began a fearful battle which is said to have lasted for eleven days. Salve was victorious and became ruler over the Swedes, but was later betrayed and killed.

Yngvar, the son of Oesten of the Ynglings line, then became ruler at Upsala. He was a great warrior of the old stamp, and had many war ships. He made peace with the Danes and other near neighbors for the protection of his country when he was away on seafaring expeditions up the Volga and through the Eastern countries and South to Miklagard (Constantinople). He returned in the fall of each year with great riches acquired during his voyage. One summer he invaded Esthonia, and made an attack on the city Stein, but the Esthonians came in great numbers, fell upon him unawares and slew him. Thus he found a grave in a foreign land.

After him Anund became the ruler over Svithiod. The country now enjoyed peace and plenty, for the crops were fine and there was an abundance of grain. The population increased rapidly and Anund, to augment the welfare of the people, gave to all able-bodied persons a tract of land for them each to plough and cultivate. Great tracts of land were cleared, brok-

en and cultivated, and many roads were built through the country. The King was consequently called Braut-Anund, and proved one of the most popular Kings of Sweden. On one of his journeys through the country, while resting under a mountain an avalanche of stones and rocks fell upon him and his suite, and buried them. Anund was greatly mourned by his people. He had a son, Ingjald, who became his successor.

While the rulers were called Kings of Svithiod, they by no means exercised any authority over the other provinces of Sweden. There were many petty kings each holding sway within his own boundaries. The magnificent Upsala temple, where the yearly sacrifices were held, was the common property of all the Swedes and Goths, but the Upsala King, being also the high priest in charge of the temple, became the first person of the land in consequence. Add to this the claim that the Upsala Kings were the direct descendants of the gods, and that the priesthood had been continuously kept in the Ynglings family, and one can see how they were looked up to as the most important men in the country, and how they strove hard to bring the other petty kings and provinces into subjection.

Now when Ingjald had begun to govern he invited to the annual sacrifices all the petty kings of the country and prepared a great festival. He had built a large hall especially for his guests and their suites, and treated them royally. When he had made them all drunk, at a given signal his men closed all the doors and set fire to the building. All who tried to escape were cut down and killed. By this atrocious act Ingjald became ruler over all Sweden, though for his perfidy

he was called "Illrada" (ill-ruler), and so continued for some years, but fate had ordained that he was to be destroyed by the same means which he had used to obtain dominion over the country. The cup of iniquity of this race of Ynglings was full. When Ivar Vidfamne had invaded Sweden, Ingjald and his family were burned in their own house.

Ingjald had a natural son, Olaf, who was driven from his home at Upsala. He went over to the other side of the large forest and settled in Vermland near the borders of Norway. Many persons came to him and began a new settlement there. Olaf became a successful agriculturist, the land was cleared, and the people waxed prosperous. He is known in Swedish history as Olaf Tratalja (wood-chopper). The Norby Kings of Norway trace their lineage through him up to the gods.

The Ingjald Illrada of the Ynglingasaga relates only to the Kings of Svithiod who had laid no claim to be rulers over the Goths of West Gothland and East Gothland. A line of independent Kings descended from Gant, another name for Odin, had ruled over the Goths. Historians have frequently confused the two dynasties. Saxo Grammaticus mentions several of these Kings as Swedish Kings. In the laws of the West Goths is a catalogue of the Kings of West Gothland beginning, however, at a later date.

A New Dynasty.—By the death of Ingjald Illrada the dynasty of the Ynglings became extinct, as had been prophesied long before. Ivar Vidfamne brought all Sweden under his sway. He also became master of Denmark, and a great portion of Saxland, and part of England. A new line of Kings began to rule in Sweden

and Denmark. In Sweden it was called the Ivar Dynasty.

Ivar Vidfamne had a daughter called Auda, who was first married to Rorek. They had a son named Harald, and because he became a great warrior he was called Hildetand (War-tooth). He ruled over Denmark and was the ancestor of the Danish Kings.

Auda was married secondly to Radbert. By him she had a son called Randver, and Randver had a son called Sigurd Ring who became King of the Swedes and West Goths.

King Harald Hildetand.—Harald Hildetand was but fifteen years old when at Lejre he became King over Denmark, and on this account many of the chiefs who had been formerly independent believed that they would regain the provinces or petty kingdoms which they had lost by the ursupation of Ingjald Illrada and Ivar Vidfamne. Harald had several petty wars on his hands. He subdued all the rebel chiefs. He was supposed to bear a charmed life. His manner of placing his army in a triangular position, called swinfylke, was claimed to be a direct instruction from Odin. Harald promised all those who fell in battle a sacrifice to Valhalla. From his many victories during youth he became a terror to all his foes, and was thereafter permitted to reign in peace for about fifty years. He, however, kept his army constantly on a war footing, which in his opinion was the best guarantee for peace.

According to tradition Harald is said to have reached the age of one hundred and fifty years at the time Sigurd Ring was ruling over the Swedes at Upsala, and also over the West Goths. Either at the instigation of his general Brune and other followers,

or in accordance with the prevailing belief that to die of old age would prevent him from going to Valhalla, he declared war against Sigurd Ring of Sweden. Preparations were made on a large scale. Harald with his army invaded Sweden. Ring's army was collected from Svithiod, West Gothland and Norway, led by himself in person, and by many renowned warriors, such as Ragwald the Wise, and Starkoder, who was considered the greatest warrior of the times. Harald's army was gathered from Denmark, East Gothland and the North of Germany. His fleet was so great that it covered the Sound. There were three Amazons, Ursina, the banner bearer, Heide and Veborg, and many renowned Berserkers and warriors. The armies met on Bravalla Heath in East Gothland. Harald sent his general Brune to reconnoitre and report the position of the army of King Ring, and when he returned and informed Harald that Ring's troops stood in swinfylkes Harald exclaimed: "Who has taught him that? I thought this information was known to none but Odin and myself. I fear for the outcome, but I am ready to fall in battle." He directed Brune to marshal his troops, and being unable to walk from old age was placed in a war chariot.

The Battle of Bravalla. About A. D. 740—When all was ready, the chiefs caused the war horns to be sounded; on which the two armies uttered a great shout, and so advanced on one another. A sharp and memorable conflict now followed, and the old Sagas relate that nowhere in the North have so many picked men striven together. When the battle had raged awhile, Ubbe, the Frieslander, advanced in front of King Harald's troops towards the enemy; in the front

of King Ring's tribes advanced Ragwald the Wise in Council, and Ubbe turned to confront him. Then between these two stout-handed men a hard battle took place, in which many desperate blows were dealt and returned; but it ended by the death of Ragwald. Then Ubbe cut down the champion Tryggve, who stood next to Ragwald. When Adils' sons from Upsala saw this, they both turned upon him; but such a redoubtable warrior was he, that he slew them both, and the third Yngve in addition. When King Ring saw this, he shouted that it was a shame to let a single man so exalt himself over a whole army, and, "Where was Starkoder now, who had never feared before to step foremost in the strife?" Starkoder answered: "This is a hard trial, and victory will be difficult for us now, my lord. Notwithstanding I will not fall back." Saying this he advanced towards Ubbe, and they exchanged many mighty blows. Finally Starkoder gave Ubbe a very terrible wound, but he had already received six himself, so that he thought he had never before been in such a terrible strait. Now the troops pressed upon them on both sides, and separated these two champions. Ubbe cut down another warrior, called Agnar, and then seizing his sword with both hands, cut a broad path through Ring's troops, until he was covered with blood up to the shoulders. Behind Ring's army stood the inhabitants of the Telemark in Norway, whose chief art was using the bow and arrow, but as the rest of the army held them in small esteem, they had been placed in the rear. When they perceived Ubbe advancing through the army towards them, they said among themselves, "Now is the time to show that we are also brave men, and not so weak as the others

esteem us to be, and we shall make this man the target for our arrows awhile." Hadder Horde and Horallder amongst them were such good marksmen that they shot Ubbe through with four-and-twenty arrows. But he never lost courage, and defended himself valiantly till he fell dead. He had overthrown six warriors and sixteen other men, besides having grievously wounded eleven others of note.

Veborg, the Amazon, now advanced against the Swedes and slew the champion Sote.. After this she met Starkoder, and they fought; but she was so active and supple that she dealt him a blow which sliced the flesh off his cheek and chin. Torkil Djerfve came up at the same moment and hewed her down; but Starkoder put his beard in his mouth, and held it with his teeth, thus retaining the loose piece of flesh in place, and he was now very wroth. He burst suddenly into the Danish force and cut down the warriors Hake, Ella, Borgar, and Hjorter, one after the other, and then rushed towards Ursina, the Amazon, who bore King Harald's banner. She then said: "Certes, the rage of death has now come upon you, and your last hour is surely at hand." "First, thou shalt drop the King's banner," said Starkoder; and with these words he cut off her left hand. At the same moment, Brae, the warrior, seized it; but Starkoder cut him down, and the other two, Grepe the Old, and Hate; but he received himself many grevious and sore wounds. When Harald saw the great slaughter amongst his troops, he threw himself on his knees in his chariot, being unable to stand, and took a short sword in each hand; he then caused the chariot to be driven into the thickest of the fight, hewing and striking on both sides, in this man-

ner killing many, and he was considered very valiant, and to have done mighty deeds for his great age. Finally his own general, Brune, struck him with an axe on the helmet, so that his head was cleft, and he fell dead out of the chariot. When King Ring saw the chariot empty, he understood that King Harald was slain; he therefore caused a cessation of arms to be blown on the trumpets, and offered the Danish army peace and quarter which they accepted. The next morning Ring caused the field of battle to be carefully searched for King Harald's corpse, which was not found until the middle of the day, under a heap of slain. Ring caused it to be taken up, washed and honorably treated according to the custom of those times, and laid it in Harald's chariot. A great mound was then raised, and the horse,which had drawn Harald through the battle, was harnessed to the car, and so the royal corpse was drawn into the mound. There the horse was killed, and King Ring caused his own saddle to be brought in, and gave it to his friend King Harald, praying him to use it in riding to dwell with Odin in Valhalla. After this, he caused a great funeral feast to be celebrated, and at its conclusion begged all the warriors and chief men who were present to honor Harald by gifts and ornaments. Many precious things were thrown in, large bracelets, and excellent arms, after which the mound was carefully closed and preserved. And King Ring remained sole governor over the entire kingdoms of Sweden and Norway.

Sigurd Ring's Death.—King Ring had gone down to Viken, the gulf between Sweden and Norway, to settle some disputes between his tributary Kings, on which occasion a great sacrifice was offered, which was num-

erously attended, amongst others by King Alf's daughter from Jutland, a Princess who for her great beauty was called Alfsol, or Sun. Notwithstanding his great age, Sigurd Ring fell in love with her, and asked her to be his wife, though the gods had pronounced against it at a sacrifice. But Alfsol's brothers, Alf and Inge, refused "to give so fair a maid to such a withered old man." Ring was very angry that his own subjects had ventured to give him such an answer, and therefore declared war on them after the conclusion of the sacrifice. Alf and Inge were brave men, but still they feared King Ring's superior might and therefore gave Alfsol poison that she might not fall into his hands. They then advanced against the King, but the fortune of the day soon turned against them. Alf was cut down by Ragnar, who was now with his father, and in consequence received the name of Alfsbane. Inge fell also, and their troops fled. Sigurd Ring, who had himself been severely wounded in the battle, ordered Alfsol to be sought for, and when he only found her corpse, he determined to live no longer. He therefore commanded that all the dead bodies be carried into a ship, seated himself by the rudder in the stern, and laid Alfsol at his side. He afterwards caused the ship to be set on fire with sulphur and pitch, hoisted all the sails, and steered with a steady wind out to sea, saying "That he would come with magnificence, as befitted a mighty King, to Odin." When he got away from the shore, he ran his sword through his body, and so fell dead over the corpse of his beloved Alfsol. The ship drove out to sea and perished there, but Ragnar caused his men to raise a great mound on the shore.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LATTER PART OF THE PERIOD OF THE VIKINGS.

600—825.

Sigurd Ring's Death—Ragnar Lodbrok King of the Swedes and Goths—Tora and the Snake Around Her Bower—Ragnar Kills the Snake and Tora becomes His Bride—Ragnar's Viking Expeditions to England and France—Manner of His Death—English and French Historians on the Vikings—Swedish Vikings—The Varangians were Swedish Vikings in Russia—Rulers—Russian Laws—Russian Historians Credit Foundation of Their Empire to Swedes—Their Manner of Fighting—The Ros—Varangians at Constantinople—Ambassadors to Louis of France—Detected as Swedes and Detained—Intermarriage between Royal Houses of Sweden and Russia—Sudden Appearance of the Swedes all Over Europe—Their Expeditions—Superiority—Tribute from Russians—Elect Swedish Princes as Rulers—Nestor's Account—Ruric in Russia—Varangians in Russia—Hungary and Constantinople—Their Route—Emperor's Body Guard—Numbers—Superiority—Svealand and Gotaland Very Populous—Gardar Svavarson Discovers Iceland—Runestones—Monument to Vikings—Marshals of Troops in Greece.

The sagas relate that after the famous Sigurd Ring's death Ragnar became King of the Swedes and Goths. He is said to have received his name Lodbrok, meaning "the woolly," under the following circumstances. There was a Gothic King in Sweden, who had a daughter, named Tora, celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments. Her father returning from a bear hunt brought home a snake in a box which he gave to his daughter for a plaything. The snake soon grew to an enormous size. Its length was such that it

reached all around the house where the maiden was. The snake devoured an ox each day and poisoned the air with its venom. The King offered his daughter in marriage to anyone who could kill it. Many a young warrior tried, but was killed in the attempt. Ragnar heard of the offer and prepared to win the prize. He had a robe made of heavy undressed bear skins; this he had boiled in pitch, drawn through sand and finally hardened in the sun; and when he put it on, he was proof against the snake's venom. He then killed the snake and gained Tora's hand. Hence he was always known thereafter as Lodbrok.

It is this Ragnar and his sons, who became renowned as the most daring of Vikings throughout the British Isles and on the coast of France. Ragnar Lodbrok at the head of his Vikings visited Paris in A. D. 845. In his attempt to subdue England he was surrounded and overpowered, and cast into a dungeon full of venomous snakes. His death song is one of the most striking pieces of Scandinavian poetry. In this last hour the Sea King looks forward with pleasure to his immortal feast with Odin in Valhalla. To avenge his death his sons inflicted terrible retribution on the English people. This is said to have occurred A. D. 866.

The English and French historians in describing the Vikings, have usually spoken of them as Norwegians or Danes. As these countries are located nearer to England and France than Sweden, it is natural that the invaders should be so classified. Yet the Swedish sagas and chronicles extol many a Swedish Sea King, who sailed to England, France, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkland, (Constantinople).

The Swedish vikings pushed their expeditions "in Ostervag" as they called it, or Eastwards, and during the Eighth and Ninth centuries helped to make Russian history.

The Varangians who ruled over the Russians were Swedes and of Swedish descent, and it was they who imposed the name of Russia on the Slav countries. In support of this contention the large number of Scandinavian names in the list of Varangian princes reigning in Russia may be adduced. The first code of Russian laws compiled by Jaroslaf presents a striking analogy with the Swedish laws. The Russian historians call Sweden the mother country of the Russians, and point particularly to a part of the Swedish coast called Roslagen, between Stockholm and Upsala. The Varangians were often a band of warriors composed of exiled Swedish adventurers, who usually were the leaders, with a following of Slav soldiers. The Swedes and Russians from the earliest times were bound together by close commercial relations. These Varangians from Sweden were not inferior to those Sea Kings who were so celebrated in the West during the decay of the Carlovingians. M. Samokvassof has lately opened the black tomb near Tchernigof containing the bones of a Varangian prince who lived in the 10th century. His coat of mail and pointed helmet in every respect resembles those of the Swedish warriors. Early miniatures represent the Russian princes during the 8th to the 10th centuries as clothed and armed like the Swedish warriors.

The Varangians, like the Swedes and Norsemen, astonished the nations of the East and South by their reckless courage and gigantic stature. Bold sailors

and admirable foot soldiers, the Swedish Varangians differed from the mounted and nomad races of Russia, the Hungarians, Khazars etc., whose tactics were Parthian. The former fought in a compact mass and seemed like a wall of iron, bristling with lances and glittering with shields, whence rang a ceaseless clamor like the waves of the sea. A huge shield covered them to their feet, and when they fought in retreat they turned their enormous bucklers around on their backs and became invulnerable. The fury of battle at last made them besides themselves, like the Berserkers. Never were they seen to surrender. When the hope of victory was lost they stabbed themselves, for they held that those who died in battle would go to the gods in Valhalla.

The name of Ros (Russia) was first made known to the West in the 9th century, by an embassy of Theophilus, the Roman emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or Chagon, Hakon, or Czar of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople they had traversed the territory of many hostile nations, and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. But a close examination detected their origin; they were the brethren of the Swedes and Norsemen, whose names were already a source of hatred and fear in France from the many incursions and ravages of the Vikings during the present and prior reigns; and it might justly be apprehended that these Swedes under the name of Russian strangers were not messengers of peace, but emissaries of war. They were

detained, while the ambassadors from the Greek emperor were dismissed. This Swedish origin of the people or at least of the Princes of Russia is abundantly confirmed by the Russian and Swedish annals and by the general histories of the two countries, the intermarriage of the royal houses and the constant aad friendly intercourse of the people.

The Swedes, who had so long been concealed by a veil of darkness from the Western World, suddenly burst into notice by their naval and military enterprises. The vast and populous region of the Swedish peninsula was crowded by independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who after the country had been united under the King of Svithiod, sighed amid the pleasures of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Wars and adventures were the exercise, the trade, the glory and the virtue of the Swedish and Gothic youth. Impatient of a home with narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horns, ascended their vessels and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the early scene of their naval achievements; they visited all parts of Russia in their viking ships, penetrating inland either by river or on horseback, as occasion served. The natives saluted them with the title of Varangians. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. They alternately made war upon the natives and acted as their protectors against foes.

As early as A. D. 859 the Varangians exacted tribute from the Slavs of the Russian provinces. The natives had once expelled the Varangians, but, as anarchy began to prevail again, they decided that they

needed a strong centralized government and recalled them in 862. Whether Russia's origin is to be sought in Sweden or elsewhere, it is with the arrival of these Swedish Varangians that Russian history commences. It was the 1000th anniversary of this event that was commemorated at Novgorod in 1862. With the advent of the Varangians the Russian name became famous in Eastern Europe. It was the heroic age of the Russian nation.

The Russian historian, Nestor, who lived at Kief during the twelfth century, and whose history extends to 1116, adds to his conscientious accounts many legendary traits which seem an echo of the Scandinavian sagas.

The Slavs of Russia, he says, sent to Sweden for a Prince to rule over them. Ruric and two brothers with companions in arms settled in Novgorod; from them the land took the name of Russia and the inhabitants of Novgorod are still of Varangian descent. These events appear to have taken place in A. D. 862. The occupants of the Muscovite throne down to 1598 were descended from Ruric, the Swede.

The Russian Varangians are the Varangians of the Byzantines, the Swedish Varingers. They were mercenaries (soldiers who served by agreement or bargain), and their name is synonymous with foederati, as the Gothic soldiers were called under Constantine the Great.

After the downfall of the Gothic empires in Italy, France and Spain, the Swedes continued to cross the Baltic as Varangians and sailed up the River Vistula, crossing the uplands of the territory now known as Galicia and the borders of Russia and Hungary, and

then proceeded by way of the Dnieper and Pruth and across the Black Sea to Constantinople. This route had been known for centuries to the Swedes and Goths in their viking expeditions. Nestor says that this route had been long in use by the Swedish Varangians. This same itinerary is mentioned by a Greek Emperor in the tenth, and by the first historian of Northern Christianity in the eleventh century. Both this way down the Dnieper to the Black Sea and another more to the Eastward by the Volga to the Caspian Sea were continually traversed by the Swedes after the foundation of the Russian monarchy, for the purposes of war and commerce. The many Runic stones erected in Sweden in memory of travelers to Greece and Constantinople are proofs positive of the close relations between these countries. A large number of Arabic coins have been found on Swedish soil, dating from the 9th and 10th centuries.

The Sea-kings of the Ros threatened Constantinople on several occasions and one treaty was concluded between the Emperors, where all the names are Scandinavian. They frequently made war on the Arabs bordering on the Caspian Sea, as related by Arabic writers.

The Greeks had for long highly esteemed these heroes (worthy of the Edda). Under the name of Ros, the Swedish and Gothic Varangians formed the body-guard of the Emperor and figured in all the Byzantine armies.

In the expedition of A. D. 902 against Crete, 700 Varangians took part; 415 in that of Lombardy in A. D. 925; 584 in that of Greece in A. D. 949; and they were always near to the Emperors' persons.

They readily took pay from foreign nations, from Novgorod as well as from Byzantium. Sometimes, instead of fighting for others, they made war on their own account. As the Danes did in England and France, so did the Swedish Vikings in Russia and Byzantium. Being usually a very small number they blended rapidly with the conquered nation. Their mingling with the indigenous races explains the rapidity with which they were absorbed and lost their language, customs and religion. The Varangians retained only one thing—their military superiority and the habit of obeying the chosen or hereditary chief. The anarchistic Slavs were inoculated with this principle and gradually became loyal to their superiors.

The Swedes were generally classed among the Northmen during the Viking period by the Western historians. The Swedish peninsula—that is Svealand and Gotaland—had always been the most populous, and being surrounded by water the Swedes sailed Westward as well as Eastward. The Norwegians and the Danes who have written on these subjects have taken the credit to themselves for all that was accomplished by the viking expeditions, which is more than they are entitled to. It was a Swede by birth, Gardar Svavarson, who sailed Westward and landed on the island in the Atlantic, now called Iceland, about the year 868. He was the first Northman who visited Iceland and stayed over winter, and the island was for some time called after him Gardarsholm. On his return to Sweden the report spread rapidly that a new country existed in the West. When Harald Harfager was making war against the petty kings of Norway, sub-

duing some of them and driving out others, many, sooner than be subjugated, emigrated to the newly discovered country. Many Swedish and Gothic names are found in the annals of the early settlers of Iceland.

Rune-Stones.—There are numerous monuments in Sweden, such as bautastones and other mementoes inscribed with runes, which bear witness that the Swedes and Goths constantly went on viking and commercial expeditions to the Eastern and Southern cities of Russia, to Byzantium, to Greece, to Rome and the Western coast of Europe.

Many of these stones are erected in memory of men who sailed to Ostervag, that is to Russia and Austria. Others mention the places by name, as Finland, Tavastaland, Estland, Livonia, Gardame, Gardarike and Holmgard. One Rune-stone in Sodermanland is "erected by Sigrid in memory of her husband Sven, who often sailed with large and valuable ships to Lemgullen around Tunisness." Another Rune-stone in the same province is "erected to the memory of a man who fell in battle in Gardarike (Byzantine Empire) as commander-in-chief of the army." Several of these stones are erected in memory of men who accompanied Ingvar on his journey to the Eastern countries. One stone is "erected by two brothers in memory of their father, who commanded ships in company with Ingvar to the countries Eastward and to Esthonia."

One stone (the illustration on page 85) was erected by the mother of Havald, Ingvar's brother, which indicates that Ingvar sailed from Malaren. This is doubtless the same person who is described in an Icelandic saga, containing the romance of Ingvar, the far traveler, who is said to have lived during the time

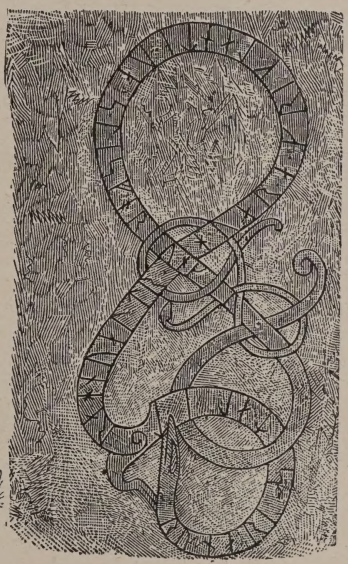
of Olaf Lapking. In this case the date of this Rune-stone would be approximately 1000 A. D.

A number of these Rune-stones are erected in Memory of Vikings who journeyed to Greece, and also give an account of their death in that country. Others commemorate men who spent some time in Greece and then returned. They go by the name of Greek travelers. In the parish of Eds in the Province of Upland is a stone upon which Ragnald caused Runes to be cut as a memorial of himself. He had at one time been chief of the army in Grekland, that is chief of the Varangians, who were acting as the body-guard of the Roman Emperor. At a place called Fukeby, not far from Upsala, stands a Rune-stone, which a father raised in memory of his sons, one of whom was a chief and commanded the army in Greece, but returned and died at home. These Rune-stones giving descriptions of journeys to the Eastern Roman Empire are found not only on the coasts of Sweden in Upland, Sodermanland and East Gothland, but at places inland and along the Western coasts. In Smaland is found a Rune-stone describing a certain Sven, who died in the East in Grekland. That the Swedes and Goths continued to go on viking expeditions both Eastward and Westward may be proved by the fact that in the old laws of the West Goths it is provided that "persons who dwell in Greece or in Rome cannot inherit the property of their deceased relatives in the province of West Gothland." After Christianity had been adopted as the national religion of Sweden the Swedes were in the habit of making pilgrimages to Jerusalem and they generally followed the same road as formerly, going by Constantinople, as the Varangians had done during the pagan

times. In Eustasagan it is related that these pilgrims to Jerusalem first crossed over Gothland, then went Eastward to Russia, where they turned South till they reached Constantinople, from which place they proceeded directly to their goal.

There are also Rune-stones which mention certain men who died in the Langbarderland, that is the present Lombardy in Italy. One of these stones is found in the parish of Tave in the Province of Upland and another is found in the Parish of Mound, in the Province of Sodermanland.

1.



2.

1. Tula erected this stone in memory of her son Havald, the brother of Ingvar. They journeyed bravely into distant lands to Kul and still further East and South. They died in Kafa, in the South of Sarkland (among the Saracens).

2. Ragvald, who was chief of the army in Grekland (Constantinople), caused these runes to be inscribed on this stone.

There are over 1,500 runestones in different parts of Sweden, some of which are very large and covered with runes of great historical interest.

A VIKING DUEL.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY.

825—993.

Golden Age of the Norse Religion is Passed—Cruelty of the Vikings—Change in Sentiment—Harald Harfager's Profession—Longing After a Better Religion—Influence of Catholicism—Ansgar Preaching in Sweden A. D. 830— Bjorn King (829)—Alsharjarting decides for Christianity in Sweden—Rimbert Bishop—Eric Conquers Trans-Baltic Provinces—Conflict with Harald Harfager—Gorm King of Denmark a Pagan—Danevirke—Tyra—Crusade against Denmark by Germany—Jomsburg—Styrbjorn Attacks Denmark—War on Eric Victorious in Sweden—Battle of Fyrisvall 983—Eric Conquers the Danes—Harald Returns to Denmark—Order of Battle—Sacrifices—Eric Victorious—Descendants of Styrbjorn—Eric Invades Denmark—Death—Olaf King of Sweden—Sigrid Storrada—Marries Sven of Denmark—Norway in History—Petty Kings—Royal Dynasty of Norway—Harald—Eric Blood Axe—Hakon the Good—Harald Grafall—Jarl Hakon—Olaf Trygvesson as Viking and Christian—Attacked by Sweden and Denmark at Svolder—Olaf Trygvesson's Death.

The Early Introduction of Christianity in Sweden. —At the period of the viking expeditions to Russia, Constantinople and Southern Europe, the old Norse religion and civilization had already seen their golden age and showed many signs of decay and dissolution. The predatory and daring spirit of the Vikings brought with it a great deal of cruelty and inhumanity; the former honesty and integrity of the Norsemen disappeared and the Sagas relate many traits of deceit and infidelity; the old Asa-faith had become superannuated and grad-

ually lost all influence over the minds of the people. There were many Vikings who despised the gods and had faith only in their own power and influence; however, there were also many who were influenced by higher and nobler sentiments, and who were impelled by an aspiration after something spiritual and divine. It is related of King Harald Harfager for instance that he acknowledged only one God in Heaven, the God who had created the World,the Sun,the Moon and the Stars. Although the proud and unbending spirit of the Norsemen did not well agree with the self-denying spirit of Christianity, there was nevertheless in the doctrines of the old Norse religion something which corresponded to the Christian religion. Such in particular were the reverence paid to Balder, the pure and good, the custom of pouring water on a new born child, which corresponded closely to Christian baptism, and many other old customs. What particularly interested them in the Christian religion was the outward pomp and glory of the Catholic rite. The images, the priestly attire, and the robes of the choristers, the incense and the music, —all these made a great impression on the minds of these men of the North, who were keenly appreciative of elaborate ceremonial. The Norse Mythology and the numerous heathen gods as worshiped at Upsala were replaced by the Catholic doctrines and the saints. It is related that many of the newly converted pagan Swedes and Goths who embraced Christianity kept their old gods side by side with the images of the Christian saints; nor is there any doubt that a large number of the people who were converted to Christianity were converted to outward appearance only. Christianity and the new faith had not penetrated their

minds and hearts, and therefore the gospel had little influence on the lives of the converts.

The old sagas relate that the Danish King Harald while on a visit to Germany was baptized and embraced Christianity A. D. 826. A pious monk, Ansgar, who became the apostle of the North, accompanied him on his return to Denmark. Ansgar was then a young monk at the convent of New Corvey in Westphalia. He was well known for his piety and learning and possessed an earnest Christian faith. For several years he continued with great success to preach Christianity in the Southern Provinces of Sweden and Denmark. The Upland Swedes, about this time, sent messengers to Emperor Louis the Pious, to say that they were willing to receive Christian teachers. Louis commissioned Ansgar to visit Sweden. After a journey full of dangers and sacrifices, he arrived about the year A. D. 830 at Birka, which was then the most prominent city of the Swedes and was located on an island in Malaren. King Bjorn was ruling over the Swedes at this time. He received Ansgar in a friendly manner and allowed him to preach the Christian doctrines to his people. Ansgar continued his labors with great success for a year and a half, after which he returned to the Emperor Louis. He was now appointed Archbishop of the newly established diocese of Hamburg, with instructions to continue to preach the Gospel to the people of the North. Hamburg was shortly thereafter attacked by the Vikings and burned to the ground. Ansgar moved to Bremen, which became the seat of the diocese, and the residence of the Archbishop. About the year 853 he undertook a second journey to

Sweden. During his absence the missionaries in their zeal had destroyed some heathen temples and sacred groves, which so enraged the people, who still clung to their old gods, that a riot followed during which many native Christians, and the priests sent by Ansgar to Sweden, were expelled from the country. When he now arrived at Birka, he met with violent opposition, but by his piety and gentle manner, he soon succeeded in persuading the King and the people to bring the question: "Shall the Swedes adopt the Christian religion?" before the public at the Alsharjar Ting, King Olaf being now the Swedish Sovereign. The question whether Christianity might be preached in Sweden was decided in the affirmative. At a Ting in West Gothland the people also decided in favor of Christianity. Ansgar, having reorganized the Christian church at Birka, and placed priests and missionaries at other stations in the country, returned to Bremen where he died in the year 865. During his whole life he had not ceased working most assiduously for the conversion of the Northern people. Many young men from the North, who were studying at the Universities of Paris and Rome, embraced the Christian religion, were baptised and returned home as preachers and instructors of their own people. The policy of Ansgar was pursued by his friend and successor, Bishop Rimbert, who also visited Sweden. But after his time the missionary work in Sweden was neglected for some seventy years, and viking expeditions were conducted with even more violence and savagery than formerly.

Toward the latter part of the 9th century King Eric Edmundson, who was later succeeded by his son, Bjorn

Ericson, was ruling in Sweden. Eric was a powerful King and a great warrior. He led his army into the provinces East of the Baltic, conquered several of them and united them to Sweden; but when he undertook to extend his monarchy Westward and to subdue Norway, and other adjoining provinces, he came in conflict with the Norwegian King, Harald Harfager, who also laid claim to the same territory. The dispute between the two Kings came to a serious issue when they were visiting the Bonde, Ake, in Vermland. Hostilities broke out between them which terminated in Harald's taking away from Eric the provinces in dispute. However, it was not long before Vermland and Markerna were re-conquered and came into the posession of Sweden. Ravafylke became a province of Norway. Eric Edmundson died about A. D. 886.

Henry of Germany, about the year 934, declared war upon and undertook a crusade against Denmark, which was then ruled over by King Gorm the old, who still adhered to Paganism. Gorm was an enthusiastic heathen and persecutor of the Christians. This war was the primary cause of the building of Danevirke, a fortified wall separating Denmark from Germany, which extended in a Western direction from the innermost point of the Gulf of Schlei to the river Treene; this wall, which was taken in hand by the enthusiastic Queen Tyra, continued to afford protection to the Danes for some time during the rule of Harald Blue Tooth.

The German crusades against Denmark had a great influence on the inhabitants, many of whom became converted to Christianity. King Harald was finally

baptized, and ever after exerted a good Christian influence over his people.

It was at this time that several of the most daring of the Northern Vikings took possession of a tract of land near the mouth of the Oder where they founded a fortified place called Jomsburg. This fortification was located on the Island Wollin within the province of the Vendes. At this spot the most daring of the warriors and other adventurers who clung to the old heathen religion collected together and formed a community called Jomsvikings, composed only of warriors, and adopted the most stringent laws for their government. Styrbjorn Starke, celebrated in sagas, became chief of this band. This renowned Viking was a nephew of the powerful King of Sweden, Eric the Victorious, who ruled for over fifty years and died in 993. Styrbjorn at the age of twelve years had insisted upon sharing in the government of the kingdom, but the people rejected him. His uncle, however, equipped a considerable fleet for him to be used in viking expeditions. He it was who finally became the leader of the Jomsvikings. He made an expedition to Denmark and compelled Harald Blue Tooth to give him his daughter in marriage and to assist him with troops against his uncle Eric the Victorious of Sweden, from whom he now demanded a share in the kingdom, and proceeded to enforce the claim by equipping a great fleet with which he sailed up the Baltic and into lake Malaren.

The Battle of Fyrisvall, A. D. 983.—Eric the Victorious, who at this time was reigning in Upsala, was a great and renowned King. Skoglar Toste, a free-

holder and celebrated Viking in West Gothland, had a daughter named Sigrid, much famed for her beauty, but very proud and haughty. King Eric chose her for his Queen, and gained much support in the country from her relations, particularly from Torgny the Wise, who was Judge in Upland. When King Eric heard that Styrbjorn with his great fleet had entered Lake Malaren he sent out a summons throughout the kingdom for all the men at arms to meet in Upsala. He then blocked the entrance of Flot Sound so that Styrbjorn could not sail out of the Lake toward Upsala. As soon as the latter had arrived, he made his men go on shore and burned all his ships, to the end that his supporters might fight with more courage, having no hopes of safety by flight. Scarcely was this done when Harald Bluetooth ordered his men on board his ships, put out to sea and sailed home to Denmark, leaving Styrbjorn in the trap. This proceeding he and his men were obliged to witness from the shore, having no means of preventing or punishing Harald's treachery. He, however, did not lose courage, but made his men cut a broad road through the forest to the great plain of Fyrisvall, near Upsala. On this plain he marshaled his army, having many brave chiefs in it, amongst others his uncle, Jarl Ulf, and Bjorn Bredviking, an Icelander. Eric the Victorious marshaled his men on the other side and Torgny the Judge was his chief man, both in word and deed. The battle was violent and long. Torgny had caused chariots to be made with lances projecting in front and sickles and scythes fastened on either side, which were drawn by condemned criminals into the enemies' ranks, and caused great havoc; but Styrbjorn had such superior numbers, that

in spite of this he was able to make a stout resistance; and so they fought the whole day without either being able to gain the victory. During the night many people from the neighborhood joined Eric, so that his army was not less than on the first day. But the Jomsvikings were such brave men that they kept up the fight the whole of the second day, and at its conclusion no one could yet determine who would be victorious. The chiefs offered sacrifices during the night to propitiate the gods. Styrbjorn sacrificed to Thor, and it was said that a red-bearded man, who was thought to be Thor, showed himself to Styrbjorn announcing his defeat. Eric on his side, went up to the temple in Upsala and sacrificed to Odin, promising himself to the god at the expiration of ten years, if he would only this time grant him the victory. It is said that a one-eyed man in a blue cloak, with a wide hat on his head, then showed himself to Eric and gave him a lance which he should hurl against Styrbjorn's troops, saying, "Ye now all belong to Odin," and this man was thought to have been Odin himself. The third day a much severer conflict ensued, numerous reinforcements as before having joined King Eric from the neighborhood on the preceding night. But a universal panic presently overtook Styrbjorn's men; they fancied the air was full of light arrows hovering over their heads which blinded and confused them, and were thought to be sent by Odin. A sand-hill in the neighborhood also slid down upon them causing much confusion. When Styrbjorn at last saw that all was tending to his fall and defeat, in anguish and despair he struck his banner fast into the ground, and shouted with a terrible voice to the remnant of his troops, that it was

better to die with glory than to fly with shame. He then cast himself wildly amongst his enemy, and so fell, pierced with many wounds. The greater part of his men followed him and few fled or surrendered themselves prisoners. When the battle was done King Eric mounted on one of the mounds and promised a great reward to him who could sing a Drapa on this battle. On this, Torwald Hjalteson, an Icelander, presented himself and sung for the King and the army a glorious song of victory, and received as a reward two precious gold chains; and yet this Torwald neither before nor afterward ever concerned himself with poetry. After this Eric's son, who was only two years old, was carried before the troops and was proclaimed and received homage as his father's successor and sovereign of the whole kingdom. As he was, on account of his tender age, on this occasion carried in arms, he was called Olaf Skotkonung, or Olaf Lapking.

Styrbjorn left a son called Torkil Sprakalagg, whose son was named Ulf and was the father of Sven Ulfson, from whom a whole line of Danish Kings descend. This battle took place in the year 983 A. D. and from it King Eric received the surname, "The Victorious."

This was not the only victory which crowned King Eric's arms. He soon turned against Denmark and drove King Sven from his kingdom. The deposed King later made several viking expeditions to England. King Eric died in the meantime in the year 993 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Olaf. The Danish King Sven made a friendly alliance with Olaf of Sweden and

was restored to his kingdom, and married Sigrid, the mother of King Olaf. The Queen, who because of her pride was called Storrada, was sought by many in marriage after she became a widow. Two petty rulers who visited her for the purpose of seeking her hand, she caused to be burned alive. Finally she accepted the hand of the Norwegian King Olaf; but when he despised her because she was not willing to adopt Christianity, she made an oath that she would at last cause his death; and after she had married the Danish King Sven she formed an alliance between the Danish and Swedish Kings against the Norwegian Ruler. But before we proceed to the struggle between these three monarchs we will first relate certain incidents pertaining to the history of Norway.

Norway makes a later appearance in history than Sweden and Denmark and yet her history is more fully known than that of the two other kingdoms, for the Icelandic Sagas and historians devote more time to her, as being the country from which they originally emigrated, than to Sweden and Denmark.

Norway is divided up by many rivers and valleys, and on this account there was no place so centrally located as to become the natural capital, like the district around Lake Malaren in Sweden, and Zealand in Denmark. However, it was not long before the Norwegian people united into a kingdom and expelled or destroyed the petty kings. In the middle of the 9th century a noble family, supposed to be descended from the Swedish ruling house of the Ynglings, had succeeded in obtaining greater power and influence in Norway than any other of the petty kings. Harald Harfager, the

founder of the Norwegian dynasty, belonged to this family. It is said that this King had in his youth made a vow that he would not cut his hair or trim his beard until he had subdued all the petty kings and made of Norway a united kingdom. He first crossed the river Dover and subdued the Northern part of the country and thereupon he conquered the Western part; and when the chiefs of the Southern part united against him and met him in battle he utterly routed them in 872. Thus be became the Ruler over the whole of Norway. He now clipped his hair and trimmed his beard, whence he received the surname, Harfager. In conquering these provinces Harald proceeded with a great deal of violence. He compelled the Odal men, bondes, who had formerly been free from taxes, to pay large revenues to the King. Many of them, indignant at his tyranny, forsook their country and emigrated to foreign lands. Their land was confiscated to the crown. Harald placed over each province a Jarl, under whom were appointed officers to whom he donated land in return for which they were to supply the King with a certain number of soldiers.

King Harald in his old days made a great mistake by dividing his kingdom among his many sons. However, he appointed his favorite son, Eric, to be ruler over them all, who was a war-like prince and therefore received the name of Blood Axe. The youngest of the brothers,Hakon,was brought up and educated at the court of King Athelstan in England and appeared to be a noble, knightly youth. At the age of fifteen years he went over to Sigurd Jarl, the friend of his father. The Jarl placed the young prince before the Bondes at the Ting. There were many who were dis-

satisfied with King Eric; and when the young Hakon promised to remit his father's taxes and impositions he was elected King of Norway; King Eric fled from the country, collected a number of Vikings around him and went to England, where he finally fell in battle.

King Hakon, who on account of his gentle disposition, and just administration was called the Good, strengthened the defences of Norway, introduced a new order of things into the country and improved the administration of justice. He divided the coast into small divisions which should, in case of war, build and prepare a certain number of vessels and be ready every spring to accompany him to battle, whenever he sent his messengers around the country. The country he divided into three legislative and judicial districts.

King Hakon who had been baptized in England, endeavored to introduce Christianity in Norway; but a large portion of the people refused to adopt the Christian religion, rose in rebellion and burned several of the Christian churches, and compelled the King in person to take part in sacrifices to the old heathen gods.

In the meantime the sons of Eric the Blood Axe, had made repeated attacks on Norway, and in one of these wars King Hakon was wounded and died about 960. Harald Grafall, the eldest son of King Eric, was now elected King and was so acknowledged by most of the Norwegians, but he soon met with a dangerous competitor in Jarl Hakon. The latter met King Harald and murdered him, after which he ruled with great power and authority in the Northern part of Norway. He was an enthusiastic pagan, sacrificing continually to the gods and making strenuous efforts to support

and keep alive the old Asa faith, but on account of his despotic sway over the country the bondes became dissatisfied, and rose in rebellion and elected as King one of the descendants of Harald Harfarger, by name Olaf Trygvesson, who had just returned from a viking expedition to the South. Jarl Hakon was abandoned by all his friends and fled, and, while endeavoring to escape from the country, was murdered by his slave about the year 995.

Olaf Trygvesson, the new King of Norway, had when a mere child been rescued from the hands of his persecutors and brought over to Sweden; thence he was sent to Russia where he was educated. He had made viking expeditions to England where he had been baptized and thereafter became an earnest Christian. He determined, if possible, to convert his countrymen to Christianity. Accompanied by several missionaries and teachers, he landed in Norway. As he traveled from village to village he gave the people their choice between being baptized or fighting. In this manner large sections of the population became Christians, at least in name. He also endeavored to introduce Christianity into Sweden. He married his sister Ingeborg to Jarl Ragnald in West Gothland on the condition that he should become a Christian and be baptized and permit Christian preachers to preach the gospel in his domain. By his influence, Christianity was also introduced into Iceland.

It has already been mentioned that King Olaf of Norway offended the Danish Queen Sigrid and that she had brought about an alliance between the Danish King Sven and King Olaf of Sweden. Eric and Sven, sons of Jarl Hakon, joined in this alliance also. All

these allied powers prepared and equipped a large navy and were lying in wait for King Olaf Trygvesson when he returned from an expedition he had made to the coast of Venden and Jomsborg. They attacked him with a superior force near the island Svolder, in the Baltic near Rugen, and a naval engagement was fought there which was widely renowned in the North. King Olaf of Norway defended himself with determined bravery on board his vessel Ormen Lange, "The Long Snake," and not until the ship had been boarded and was in the hands of the enemy, did he yield; he then threw himself overboard into the sea and was never seen again. This occurred about the year 1000. Norway was divided up among the conquerors, the Danish and Swedish Kings reserving to themselves but a small portion of the country and the larger portion being left to the two Jarls, Eric and Sven, as dependent rulers.

CHAPTER VIII.

OLAF LAPKING, ANUND JACOB AND EDMUND THE OLD.

993—1060.

Peace After Battle of Svolder—Progress of Christianity in Denmark and Sweden—St. Sigfrid—Supremacy of Sweden—Olaf Lapking a Christian—Danish Influence in England—Canute the Great—Harald Grenske—Olaf the Saint of Norway—His Offer of Peace to Sweden and Torgny—Disa Ting at Upsala—King Olaf Lapking's Wrath—Torgny's Speech—The King Yields—Olaf of Norway Marries Astrid—Ingegard Marries Jaroslav—West Goths Incensed at Their King—Anund Jacob Elected King—Canute the Great Begins War on Sweden and Norway—Is Defeated—Stirs Up the Norwegians against Olaf—His Flight—Return—Battle of Stiklarstad—Olaf Killed—Change in Sentiments—Olaf Canonized as St. Olaf—Magnus Drives the Danes from Norway—Death of Canute—His Dominions—His Sons Rule England—Norway's Increase in Prosperity—Anund's Peaceful Rule in Sweden—Edmund Sleme—Sweden Dominant in the North—Meeting of the Northern Kings—Adjustment of Boundaries—Death of Edmund.

After the battle at Svolder there was peace between the Northern kingdoms for fifteen years, during which time Christianity exerted a powerful influence over the people. King Sven during his wars in England had been converted to Christianity by English and German preachers. Large numbers of the Danes, also the people in the Southern parts of Sweden, had embraced Christianity and were baptized. The Northern provinces were the last to yield to the gospel. Missionaries and priests came over to Sweden from England, the most remarkable of whom was St. Sigfrid, who took up

his abode in the central portion of Sweden in West Gothland. The people everywhere embraced Christianity and churches were built.

During the reign of Eric the victorious, Sweden had become the most powerful of the three Northern kingdoms. His son Olaf Lapking was not progressive and ambitious like his father, but preferred remaining quietly at home and enjoying himself surrounded by poets, learned men and Christian preachers. The Gospel doctrine of peace he interpreted in a way that let the provinces East of the Baltic be plundered and torn from the Swedish crown.

In the laws of the West Goths, which contain a list of the Swedish Kings, Olaf Lapking is called the first Christian King of Sweden. He was baptized in a spring near Husaby, called Byrghitta, by Bishop Sigfrid in A. D. 1008. Olaf Lapking refused to be styled Upsala King because this title denoted a guardian of the pagan temple and sacrifices. He therefore lost his prestige with the upper Swedes, who were mostly pagans, while the title Swede King displeased the Goths who were mostly Christians and more numerous.

The lawman of West Gothland proposed at an Upsala Ting that the old dynasty be set aside and a King be elected from West Gothland. When the upper Swedes indignantly rejected this proposal, with prophetic vision he warned them that if this was not done now, it would be done in the near future, but only after many bloody conflicts and civil war.

The fulfillment of this prediction now presents itself to our notice. The new dynasty of Swedish Kings is of West Gothic origin.

Denmark began at this time to increase in power and influence owing to her conquests in England. These conquests were occasioned principally by what is called the murder of the Danes, A. D. 1002, when a large number of them were unexpectedly attacked and murdered by the Anglo Saxons during a time of peace and quiet. The Norse warriors in revenge for this crime attacked England with greater determination than ever before, and finally King Sven succeeded in conquering the whole country, and in driving the royal house out of England. He died in the year 1014. Then Canute the Great was acknowledged King over all England, and King of Denmark as well, when his brother died. He ruled both kingdoms with intelligence and prudence, dying in A. D. 1035. Olaf Lapking of Sweden was an ally of his during his supremacy in England and furnished him with ships and soldiers.

Harald Grenske, one of the Norse petty Kings, descended from the family of Harald Harfager (Fairhair), and one of those whom Queen Sigrid had caused to be burned, left a son by the name of Olaf, who became famous as Olaf the Saint. For a long time he had busied himself with viking expeditions, but when Canute's attention was taken up with conquests in England, Olaf laid claim to Norway, about the year 1014. Fortune smiled upon him and he soon gathered around himself a number of warriors, by whose aid he won a decisive victory over Sven Jarl, after which he was elected King of Norway. He made Norway independent, extended her borders, and made an end forever of petty Kings. He also built churches, caused priests to be ordained, and introduced Christianity all through Norway, thus accomplishing her conversion.

King Olaf, by putting the crown of Norway on his head, came into conflict with the rulers of Sweden and Denmark: King Olaf of Sweden became his bitter enemy and prepared for war against Norway; but this did not please the Swedes, particularly those of West Gothland, who lived nearer to and were friendly with the Norwegians, with whom they had commercial relations. Ragwald Ulfson, Jarl of the Westgoths, made a friendly alliance with Norway and when the Norwegian King sent messengers to King Olaf of Sweden to offer him peace and ask for his daughter in marriage, the Jarl accompanied them and lent the weight of his presence to the support of their suit.

In Sweden, says Snorre, it was the custom of the land in the heathen times, that the great sacrifice should be held at Upsala in the horning month (February). This was the Disa Ting, or great court of all the Swedes, when they sacrificed through their King for peace and victory, and it was likewise a fair and time for commercial exchange. But after Christianity had entered the country and the Kings had removed their seat from Upsala, a Ting and fair were still held there at Candlemas. The dominion of the Swedes embraces many provinces, every one of which has its own law, which is divided in chapters, and every law has its judge (lagman), who is the chief among the Bondes. He answers for all, when the King, or the Jarl, holds the Ting with the people, him they all follow, so that the great ones hardly dare to betake themselves to the court without the consent of the judge and the Bondes. The chief justice in Sweden is the lawman of Tiundaland; he was now called Thorgny; a name

which, as well as the office itself, had long remained in his family. He was reckoned the wisest man in Sweden, and was fosterfather of Jarl Ragwald, wherefore the Jarl first repaired to him with the Norwegian envoys. They came to his estate, on which were large and pleasant mansions. In the chamber sat an old man on the high seat, whose like for tallness they had never seen; his beard reached down so far that it lay on his knees. This was Thorgny. The Jarl stepped before him and greeted him, was well entertained, and after a while mentioned the business on which he and the envoys had come, at the same time expressing his fears lest the King should receive them ungraciously, seeing that Olaf the Lapking would never hear Olaf the Norseman spoken of. Thorgny answered, "Strangely ye comport yourselves, ye that bear the Tiegnar name. Wherefore didst thou not bethink thee ere thou camest on this journey, that thou wert not strong enough to speak to our King Olaf? To me therefore it seemeth not less honorable to belong to the Bondes, and have freedom of speech even when the King is near." He accompanied the ambassadors to the great folkmote at Upsala. The first day when the Ting sat, they saw there King Olaf on his chair, and all his court around him. Over against him on the other side of the Ting sat Jarl Ragwald and Thorgny on a bench, surrounded by the followers of the Jarl's and Thorgny's serving men; behind stood the Bondes and the common sort in a ring, some upon the barrows that lay by, to see and hear how all befell. Now, after the King's affairs, as the usage was, had first been discussed in the mote, one of the Norwegian messengers stood up and pre-

ferred his request with a loud voice; but the King sprang from his seat in wrath, and broke off his speech. Jarl Ragwald declared, in the name of the West Goths, the same desire for a reconciliation with the Norwegians, but he met with no better a reception. Thereupon was deep silence for a while. At last Thorgny rose, and with him rose all the Bondes, and there was a great din of arms and tumult in the crowd. When audience was granted, Thorgny thus spoke. "The Kings of the Swedes are now otherwise minded than once they were. Thorgny, my grandsire, well remembered Eric Edmundson, King in Upsala, and was wont to tell of him, that while he was in his prime he marched every summer to the war, and subdued to his dominion Finland, Kyrialand, Esthland, Kurland, and the Eastern countries far and wide, where are yet to be seen earthen walls and other large works of his. Yet did he never deal so haughtily, that he would not endure discourse from those who had aught to propound to him. My father Thorgny was near King Bjorn a long time, and therefore knew his manners well; in his time things went prosperously with the realm, for there was no dearth, and he was affable to his people. I myself freshly remember King Eric the Victorious, for I was with him in many of his enterprises. He augmented the Swedish dominion, and warded it stoutly, yet was it easy to come to speech with him. But this King now will let none speak with him, and will hear naught but what is pleasing to himself, which indeed he presses with all heat. His tributary lands he lets slip from him by his carelessness, and yet would he

rule over Norway, a thing that no King of the Swedes before him has coveted, for which many must live in unpeace. Wherefore we Bondes will, that thou, King Olaf, shouldst make up thy quarrel with Norway's King and give him thy daughter Ingegard in marriage. If thou wilt win back those lands in the East, which belonged to thy kinsmen and parents, we will attend thee thither. But if thou heed not our words, we will set upon and slay thee, and will not suffer lawlessness and trouble at thy hands. For so did our fathers before us; they threw five Kings into a well, that were puffed up with arrogance like thee. Now, say forthwith what thou wilt choose." Then a great clashing of arms again resounded from the people. But the King rose up and granted their prayer, adding, that so the Kings of Sweden had ever done, in taking counsel of the Bondes.

The proceedings at this Ting between King Olaf of Sweden and the bondes represented by Thorgny their lawman show most clearly that the real power of government and the right of declaring war, of making peace, of administering justice, and of providing for the welfare of the realm even to the giving away in marriage of the King's daughter were vested in the people up to this time, about A. D. 995.

The Swedish princess Ingegard was betrothed to the Norwegian King, but her father broke the engagement by giving her to a Russian Prince, and the Norwegian King had to wait a long time for his bride. Ragwald then made a proposition that King Olaf of Norway should, in place of Ingegard, marry the King's second daughter Astrid, who at this time was on a

visit to the Jarl. Both of the young people took advantage of the situation, and thus the princess Astrid was married to the Norwegian King without the knowledge and consent of her father. Jarl Ragwald then travelled to Gardarike, now called Russia, in company with the princess Ingegard, where she married the Russian Grand Duke Jaroslav.

The West Goths as well as the Swedes were highly exasperated at King Olaf Lapking for his treachery and sent their lawman Edmund, a wise and prudent man, to the Ting at Upsala to endeavor to persuade the people that Olaf and his family ought to be driven from the Swedish throne. When his friends and counsellors saw what danger was threatening the King, they held a conference with him, the upshot of which was that King Olaf appeared before the Ting accompanied by his son Anund Jacob, in whose favor he announced his willingness to abdicate. The Swedes thereupon elected his son Jacob their King. The Bondes gave him the name of Anund. The new King, however, divided the power with his father, to which proceeding the Swedes consented on the condition that the old king should become reconciled with the Norwegian King, his son-in-law. This reconciliation took place during a personal interview at Konghall about the year 1022. Two years later King Olaf of Sweden died and Anund Jacob was left sole ruler.

Canute the Great was at this time meditating to restore the former supremacy of Denmark over Norway. King Olaf of Norway sought the assistance of his brother-in-law Anund against the mighty Danish King. The two brothers-in-law agreed to help each

other, and, when Canute undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, took advantage of his absence to devastate the Danish coasts. Canute, however, soon returned to England and with a strong fleet met his enemies in the River Helge, where he was surrounded and was in danger of being taken prisoner, but he escaped and the battle was drawn, neither side being able to claim any advantage. Canute afterwards succeeded by diplomacy in raising the Norwegians against King Olaf. The Norwegian nobility were already dissatisfied with the despotism of the latter; when Canute approached Norway with a great fleet, the people immediately went over to him, and elected him King of Norway. King Olaf, thus abandoned by his people, fled the country and went to his brother-in-law Jaroslav, Czar of Russia. After spending some time in Russia he determined to return to Scandinavia and if possible regain his kingdom. On his return he landed on the island Gothland, and made efforts to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. After this he journeyed to his brother-in-law, King Anund of Sweden, from among whose attendants he gathered a small army and marched across the country to Norway, to a place called Stiklarstad. There he met a large Norwegian army; they fought fiercely, displaying great bravery until Olaf's forces were vanquished and he himself killed. This happened in the year 1030. After his death there was a complete change in the sentiment of the people concerning him and his government. The old bitterness and enmity were changed to admiration for his piety, and a report was spread that on account of his good Christian character many miracles were being performed at his

grave. The people began to believe that he was a saint, and it was not long before he was generally worshiped as such in Norway, and Olaf is known to this day as the patron saint of the country.

The Danish power, which was asserted very arrogantly and oppressively over Norway, soon created dissatisfaction among the people and contributed more than anything else to the change of feeling about St. Olaf, the deceased King. The Norwegians were roused to indignation by the oppression of the Danes, so they recalled Magnus the son of St. Olaf, collected an army, and drove them from the country during the year 1035. Canute the Great died in England the same year. It is said of him that his dominion was the greatest which had existed at any time in the North. He was at the same time King of Denmark, Norway, England and Scotland. The Vends also acknowledged his supremacy. He was succeeded by his oldest son Harold in England; and in Denmark by his second son, Canute the Strong. The latter assembled an army preparatory to beginning war against King Magnus and the Norwegians, but the friends of the young Kings interceded and brought about a reconciliation. A treaty was signed to the following effect: If either of the Kings should die without male issue, the survivor should become King in his place. It was not long before this treaty went into effect. Harold, King of England, died early and Canute, who had become ruler of England upon the death of his brother, died in the year 1042 without leaving any children. He was the last of the old Danish royal line, and with his death the Danish power in England also came to an end, and Den-

mark was no more the dominant kingdom in the North of Europe.

Norway on the other hand came rapidly to the front at this time. Magnus, King of Norway, known by the name of the Good, became King of Denmark in pursuance of the treaty between the three Kings. He was constantly annoyed by civil war. Sven Ulfson, a nephew of Canute the Great, claimed the throne by right of succession. In Norway Harald, the son of Sigurd, the half brother of St. Olaf, who had now returned home after years of viking expeditions with honor, glory and wealth, became a competitor for the crown of Norway. Harald and Magnus agreed to rule jointly over Norway, but the two Kings did not get along well together, disputes beginning early and lasting until Magnus' death in the year 1047. According to his last will and testament, Harald became King of Norway and Sven Estridson King of Denmark. A new dynasty called the Estrid ascended the throne of Denmark.

Anund Jacob ruled for many years in peace over Sweden; he is praised as a wise, prudent and just King, and died in the year 1050, without leaving an heir to the throne.

Edmund, called the Old, became King over United Sweden after the death of his brother Anund. The Swedish chronicles and the laws of West Gothland give him a more odious name, the "Sleme," the Worthless, because he proved to be the most worthless King who had up to this time occupied the Asa throne.

Sweden was now the dominant power in the North of Europe. The Upsala Kings had, through the steady

support of the Upper Swedes or Upsala domain, been able to greatly extend the borders of Svithiod; taking province after province by war and by treaties, and incorporating them into their dominions, until the whole peninsula, and Finland, Estland, and Venden beyond the Baltic as well, were Swedish.

The boundary between Sweden, Denmark and Norway had not been strictly defined heretofore. Frequently Kings of Sweden ruled over all the three Scandinavian kingdoms as a sort of federation. But Sweden had not agreed to relinquish any part of her territory until about the year 1055, when this Edmund "Sleme," unworthy to be the ruler of a brave people, dismembered her.

At a meeting of the three Scandinavian Kings, Edmund "Sleme," King of Upsala; Sven, King of Denmark; and Harald, King of Norway, the boundary lines were agreed upon and defined. The provinces Bleking, Scania and Halland were ceded by Edmund "Sleme" to Denmark, an act which the Swedes branded as treason. After these boundary lines had been established, the laws of the West Goths with sarcastic irony relate that when King Edmund mounted his horse, King Sven of Denmark held the bridle and King Harald of Norway held the stirrup, as an indication of Edmund's and Sweden's overlordship, and as showing further their gratitude to the Swedish King for the valuable present he had bestowed upon them. The Swedes never forgot this treasonable act perpetrated by their King, and it was the more disgraceful because it was committed by the last of a long line of heroic Kings. Six hundred years had to elapse, dur-

ing which Sweden and Denmark were intermittently at war with one another on account of this partition, which was not recognized by the Swedes, before these provinces, the fairest part of Sweden, were recovered permanently by Charles X. Gustavus, who, guided by General Eric Dahlberg, in the winter of 1658 marched his army over the ice of the Belts, and at the gates of Copenhagen, by the peace of Roskilde, regained them for Sweden.

Edmund "Sleme" is supposed to have died A. D. 1060, and on his demise the Yngling Dynasty of Sweden became extinct. According to Snorre Sturlasson, one of the Councillors of Olaf Lapking in a Drapa about these Kings says: These Kings were the most renowned and exalted in the Northern Kingdoms for the Royal Dynasty of Kings was in a direct line descended from the very gods, who for a long time extended a special protection to their descendants although many of them had abandoned the Asa-faith.

CHAPTER IX.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, COMMERCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF SWEDEN DURING THE PAGAN PERIOD.

Sweden, Norway and Denmark Separate Kingdoms—Boundaries—Thiod-Kings—Fylkes-Kings—Consolidation of Fylkes Under Upsala Kings—Upsala Domain—Self Government—Jarls—Lawmen—Provincial Laws—Precedence of Upper Swedes—Social Condition of the Swedes—Freedom and Slavery—The Odalman—Tiegnarmen—Means of Communication—Lakes and Rivers—Commerce and Occupations—Coins and Precious Metals—The Vikings and Commerce—Dwellings—Manners of Life—The Language Spoken—Poetry and Literature—The Written and Unwritten Law—Extinction of Ivar Dynasty.

About the year A. D. 1000 the North of Europe, or what is known as Scandinavia, that is Sweden, Norway and Denmark, constituted separate kingdoms. The people were of the same race, having similar customs, institutions, and laws; and the same language was spoken in them all. The boundaries between the three kingdoms were for a long time unsettled and were frequently in dispute, and certain provinces were claimed both by Sweden and Norway, more particularly Vermland and Dal, which finally became part of Sweden. Scania, Halland and Bleking became a part of Denmark, owing to the treachery of Edmund the Old.

The King who ruled over each of these three separate kingdoms was called the Thiod-king or the King of the people, hence thiod means kingdom. This history

has traced the ascendency of the Thiod Kings over the many petty or fylkes kings of the different provinces. The King was originally nothing more than the commander of the army, who also as chief priest performed the sacrifices at the temple of the gods. But after the provinces had begun to be consolidated, the fylkes kings of the outlying provinces were either subjected or voluntarily submitted at the Alsharjar Ting. The provincial Kings gradually disappeared; some of them were conquered, while others placed themselves at the head of companies of Vikings and emigrated to foreign lands. The Upsala Kings acquired the greatest ascendency over the people and naturally made their power felt in the community. They surrounded themselves with a large number of warriors, and employed men on their landed estates all over the country. These landed estates were called in Sweden, Upsala domains, and the King derived his revenue mainly from them. The people continued to govern themselves under their provincial laws, the different hundreds having their own independent government and not being subjected to any taxes or impositions, except those which they voluntarily contributed. There was an agreement entered into by each province to provide a certain number of vessels in case of offensive or defensive war. The King of Sweden's solitary exercise of power over the people consisted in the appointment of a jarl in each province and other officers whose duty it was to superintend the royal property, to collect his income, and to order the people to assemble in case of war. Those who really ruled over the different provinces were the Lawmen, who at the end of the

heathen period still were possessed of great power and influence. They not only presided at the legislatures and at judicial assemblies, but they were also the interpreters of the laws, and it was their duty to apply the same in the different disputes arising among the people. They were also the protectors of the rights and interests of the people against the encroachments of the King and his officers. These law-men were empowered in case of violation by the King of any of the laws of the province, or the treaties of the country with foreign powers, to oppose him and it was their duty to resist him. This will plainly appear from the story related of Torgny the law-man of West Gothland when he appeared at the Ting of Upsala and brought Olaf the Lapking to terms.

In Sweden each province had its own peculiar laws and provincial judge or law-man, as well as its particular Ting, which was a legislative as well as a judicial assembly. In Norway and Denmark the provinces were larger. Up to this time the provinces of Sweden did not stand in any particular close relationship towards each other; they merely recognized one King. Some precedence was given to the province from which the King had been elected. The law-man or judge of Upland was considered the most prominent of all the law-men of Sweden. The inhabitants of this province, or the upper Swedes, as they were called, had the privilege of casting the first vote at the election of the King; whereupon the other provinces swore him allegiance. The great winter Ting held at Upsala and called Disa Ting, exercised great influence over the country. This was the place where the great and beautiful temple of the gods was located. It is now known as old

Upsala and it was in this part of the country that the King usually resided. West Gothland was the most prominent and populous province as well as the oldest among the Gothic provinces.

The people of Sweden down to this time had been divided into two classes, namely, freeborn and slaves. The slaves were either prisoners of war or the descendants of old serfs who were thus subjected to slavery. Their numbers were constantly increased by the war carried on during the period of the Viking ages; but after Christianity had been introduced into Sweden the condition of the slaves was greatly ameliorated, and many of them received their freedom. The free born were not at this period divided into different estates. All freeborn persons, however, did not have an identical amount of influence and political power. Property and wealth have always commanded honor and importance. The Odalman was the most prominent individual, socially and politically, and enjoyed the greatest privileges; under him stood the tenants who by payment of a certain rent were entitled to cultivate his land. The tenants were freeborn, but they had no voice in the political affairs of the province. The most prominent among the odalmen were those elected as representatives; such as the chiefs of the hundreds; and the provincial judges and law-men. Above these in rank and honor, but not in authority, stood certain men called Tiegnarmen, descendants of the Kings and of Jarls. To be born of and belong to a distinguished family was considered a great honor among the Swedes; and already certain men of wealthy families, who had made a name for themselves, either at home

or abroad, began to exert influence on the public affairs. Those who were in the personal service of the King and belonged to his guard, gradually separated themselves from the great community of the odalmen, but they were not distinguished from them by any special privileges; they did not compose a separate estate or form a nobility, though through this class the nobility had its origin.

The population of Sweden, A. D. 1000, was not very large, as the country was little cultivated. Villages were scattered far apart, and were separated by extensive forests and large uninhabited tracts of land, which began to be broken and cultivated as the population increased. Scania and certain parts of West and East Gothland and the country around Malaren had a numerous population for centuries. These provinces had always maintained close relations with one another. Travel was exceedingly difficult through the great forests and uncultivated tracts of land. There were no roads, and travelers were exposed to the attacks of highway robbers and lawless characters, who infested the forests. The wild and mountainous country inspired the imagination of the traveler with awe and wonder. Travel by water was easier; as all the Swedes were daring and excellent sailors. The geographical surveys show that in olden times the water sometimes covered large districts of land which are now cultivated by husbandmen. The gulfs of the sea penetrated far into the country; and the inland lakes were more numerous, of greater extent and deeper than they are now. The navigable rivers were almost the sole internal highways for commerce and

travel. The boats were of a light peculiar build and were used on rivers not navigable at present.

Commerce and peaceful occupations received little encouragement during the time when every man of prominence was engaged in war either at home or abroad. The people were mostly engaged in hunting, fishing, the raising of cattle and kindred occupations. Agriculture was practiced to a considerable extent, while certain manufactures were engaged in and received an impetus from the constant viking expeditions. Among the mechanical crafts, none were considered of such high importance as the making of war material, such as weapons and armor, and the building of ships, in which the Swedes had acquired extraordinary skill. The people learned early to manufacture iron and steel from the great abundance of iron ore found in the country. The precious metals were mostly imported. The sources whence they came were payments to soldiers serving in the Roman and other foreign armies, booty recovered by the Vikings on their expeditions, or commerce. Coins, jewelry and other precious ornaments of gold and silver were widely distributed among the people, a fact which is proved by the numerous finds in the earth and in mounds dating from this period. The oldest coins minted in Sweden, so far as can be ascertained, were made about A. D. 1000 during the reign of Olaf the Lapking. Commerce was greatly disturbed by constant viking expeditions, but it also received great encouragement from the same source, since the Vikings were frequently engaged in commerce or lent their protection to merchants. By means of this extraordinary system of navigation, com-

merce with foreign lands, particularly with Germany, England, Russia and the Orient had been brought up to a flourishing condition. The most prominent cities in Sweden, which also had the best harbors, were Birka, Ladose and Calmar. These cities had a large foreign commerce. The internal trade of the country was comparatively insignificant and consisted mostly in exchange of local products. Fairs were usually held at the annual sacrifices to the gods, during the heathen period. These fairs were continued after the country was Christianized, at the same places. Cities sprang up in these localities and became centers of population.

The rural population was centered mostly in villages; at a later period they were scattered and lived by single families on their own land. The dwellings or farm yards of the Swedes consisted mostly of several wooden buildings massed together in a rectangle, of which the most prominent building was the dwelling, and contained one large square room. This room was open right up to the roof. As yet they had no glass to let light into their dwellings, but the day-light had to find its way through certain small parchment covered openings in the walls. There was one aperture in the roof through which the smoke escaped, and which served as a chimney. Along the walls were stationary benches and in the center a table. In the middle of the longest side of the room were the seats of the master of the house and the mistress, which were built like thrones and were called the high seats. On the other side were benches which served for the guests, the benches at the sides of the table belonging to the men and women of the household.

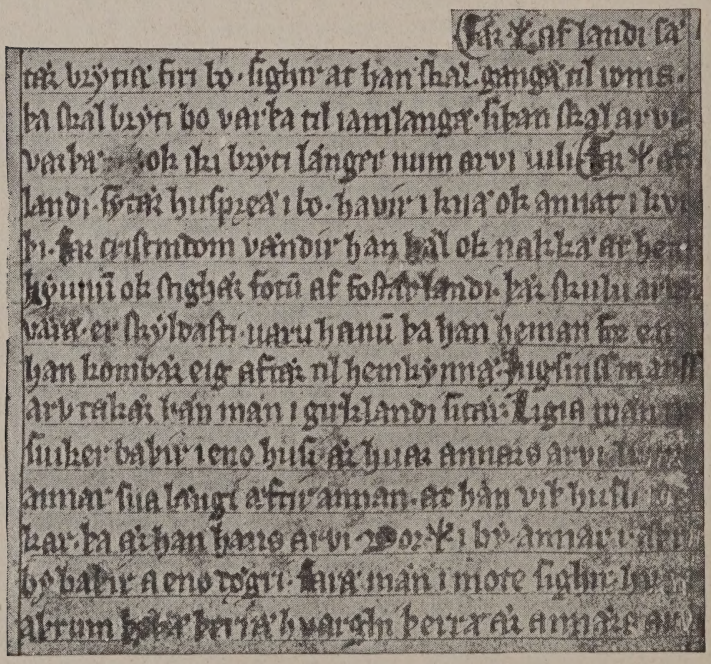
The language which was spoken in the North and in Iceland at this period was called the Norse tongue, and it was the same language which is yet spoken in Iceland. The Norse tongue is not rich in words and phrases like the Southern languages, but it is pure, expressive, flexible, soft and beautiful. This language produced in olden times the most beautiful songs and sagas, gems of extraordinary beauty, in which the poets sang of their gods and heroes. These beautiful songs are yet preserved and are called the earlier or older and later or younger Eddas. The language was enriched and developed by the poets and the narrators of the sagas, many of whom were Icelanders. Poetry was an art, and those persons who devoted themselves to it were highly esteemed, and frequently there were heroes who were poets as well. At this time few if any of the poems, songs and sagas of the North had been reduced to writing. The laws were mostly written in the runic alphabet, and were arranged in sections and chapters; as few of the people could, before printing was used, obtain copies of the written laws, they were impressed on the minds of the people by a certain kind of versification. A paragraph in the laws of the West Goths contains a list of the names of the law-men of the West Goths, and another paragraph says that the laws had been compiled by the law-man, Lumb; the laws of Upland were compiled by Vigespa, the law-man.

The characters used in writing by the Swedes were the runes. They were not extensively used, however, as it was considered a divine gift to know the art of writing, and they were mostly engraved on monuments, rocks and stones which were erected by the sur-

vivors, in memory of their deceased relatives and friends.

The dynasty of Ivar became extinct by the death of Edmund Sleme and Kings were elected from other prominent Swedish families. Owing to the elevation of these men to the Swedish throne, a readjustment between the people at home and foreign nations was brought about. This was more easily accomplished as the light of the gospel had during the 9th and 10th centuries penetrated the spiritual darkness of the Swedish intellect; and the dawn of Christianity was spreading its blessed light over the people.

The Laws of the West Goths.—The following is a fac-simile of a page from the laws of the West Goths, the oldest written book known in the Swedish lan



guage. It is written on parchment, and covers 120 pages; from certain historical accounts on the last pages it is supposed to date from the 12th century. Its internal evidence, from the many heathen customs therein described, proves this law to have been in existence for the governing of the people prior to the 8th century.

The second word, which looks like a trident, or fork, and which apears in two other places, is the old rune—the M—sound and is pronounced "madre" and in the text means "man."

After the introduction of Christianity, the monks used latin and also introduced the Roman alphabet. However, it is interesting to note that as late as the 12th century and even later the people clung to the old laws, the old customs and the old runes.

Translation of a portion thereof:

"If a man intends to make a journey to a foreign land, he shall first appoint an administrator over his property. If he say that he is going to Rome, then shall the administrator have control of his property until a year and a day have passed. If the owner do not return by that time, then shall the property like a descendant's estate be distributed among his heirs."

"The man who dwells in Grekland (Constantinople) shall inherit no man's property."

CHAPTER X.

THE STENKIL DYNASTY.

1060—1130.

Christianity Established in Sweden—Her Prosperity—Danish Rulers—The Grandees of Sweden—The Stenkil Dynasty—The Upper Swedes Lose Supremacy—Jarl Stenkil Elected King—His Liberality—Adalvard, Bishop of Skara—His Plan to Destroy the Temple of Upsala—Stenkil's Dispute with Harald of Norway—Harald's War in England—His Death—Death of Stenkil—Feud Between Pagans and Christians—Civil War—Hakon the Red Rules in Upsala—Halsten and Inge—Stenkil's Sons Elected Kings by the Goths and Swedes—Inge's Zeal—He Loses the Crown—Sven Elected King—Called Blot-Sven—Inge Murders Sven and Becomes King Again—War Between Inge and Magnus of Norway—Terms of Peace—"Maid of Peace"—Denmark and Sweden Receive Separate Bishops—Inge's Death—Philip and Inge II. in West Gothland—Eric King at Upsala—Philip's and Inge II.'s Death—Christian Preachers—Sigurd of Norway—His Crusade—Christianity the National Religion.

The Middle Ages. The First Period of the Middle Ages.—Christianity had by this time taken deep root in Sweden and the church become fully established. The people became earnest Christians and took an active interest in the crusades. After a time of civil war and general disorder, Sweden under a succession of powerful monarchs reached a condition of domestic tranquility and prosperity, and a better education was diffused among the people. Denmark was ruled by the royal family of the Valdemars, Norway by the House of Sverres, and Sweden by the first dynasty of the

Folkungers. The early self-government of the people was encroached upon, and in its place the government fell on the one hand under the control of the King and on the other of the newly established privileged estates—which were composed of the Roman Catholic clergy and the nobility, which together formed an aristocracy.

The Royal Family of Stenkil.—The crown of Sweden descended in the old royal line so long as any member of the same was in existence; but when this family became extinct the Swedes elected their Kings from other powerful families within the realm. They were not, however, recognized as having any preferential claim to the throne, and Sweden became in reality an elective monarchy. Previous to the 10th and 11th centuries the other provinces had out of respect to the royal family of the Upper Swedes, conceded them a certain kind of supremacy on account of the old heathen temple being located among them at Upsala. But when Christianity had become the national religion of Sweden the Asa Temple lost its sanctity, and the Upper Swedes their prestige. This caused war and strife to break out between the provinces of the Upper Swedes and the West and East Goths, as the former clung to the old Asa religion, while the latter became converted to Christianity. It was now a struggle betwen Christianity and heathenism for political supremacy.

Upon the death of Edmund (A. D. 1060,) all the provinces united to elect Jarl Stenkil, son-in-law of the deceased King Edmund the Old, and a man of great prominence in West Gothland to succeed him as King.

Although he was a good Christian, he was nevertheless liberal in his views, and succeeded by wisdom, prudence and extraordinary administrative ability in remaining on friendly terms with the Upper Swedes, who did not recognize Christianity but adhered to the old Asa faith. He encouraged the preaching of Chrisianity and supported the missionaries who were sent to Sweden from Bremen. During his reign, Adalvard the elder was preaching the gospel in West Gothland, where he organized and founded the first diocese, that of Skara; while Adalvard the younger was preaching among the Swedes in Upland with some success. Bishop Egino was an enthusiastic Christian worker at Lund, his Episcopal seat, and did much for the conversion of the Swedes.

For some time they were quite successful in their proselytizing campaign; but when Adalvard the younger and Bishop Egino in their fanatical enthusiasm for the Christian cause planned the destruction of the great temple of Upsala, they brought upon themselves the wrath of the followers of the Asa faith. King Stenkil took steps to prevent such a fanatical undertaking, which, if successful, would have precipitated a civil and religious war.

The reign of King Stenkil was peaceful and happy both at home and abroad; but he could not avoid disputes with the war-like King Harald Hardrade of Norway. The latter, however, soon had his attention directed elsewhere when he commenced war against England, where he fell in battle in 1066. King Stenkil died about the same time.

After the death of Stenkil the enmity between the

heathens and the Christians broke out with great bitterness and fury; and now ensued civil war, strife and internal disorders which continued for several generations. The fairest part of Sweden was laid waste and many of her inhabitants killed. The two young sons of Stenkil, Halsten and Inge, found an asylum in West Gothland during these dissensions and disturbances. During their minority Hakon the Red was recognized as King and he ruled for thirteen years. About the year 1080 Halsten and Inge the older were elected Kings by the West Goths and recognized as such by the Swedes at a subsequent Ting.

King Inge was a firm and devoted Christian, and spurred by the Pope Gregorius VII. to Christian zeal, he determined to exterminate heathenism in Sweden. He therefore appealed to the people to adopt Christianity, abandon the Asa-faith, and destroy their gods. The Upper Swedes considered that this presumptuous demand encroached on their political rights. They opposed the order of the King, and at their Disa Ting laid before him two alternatives,either to recognize and uphold the old law and customs of the people or else to resign the crown. When Inge declared that he was not willing to abandon his Christian faith and that he wanted the people to become Christians, the Swedes of Upland rose to a man in their wrath and voted to dethrone him; they even began to throw stones at him and drove him away from their Ting. Sven, a wealthy, influential and powerful man among them and the brother-in-law of the deposed King Inge, then arose and offered to conduct the sacrifices to the gods as of old and according to olden customs if they were

willing to elect him their King. The Swedes consented with a great shout and elected him forthwith. A great sacrificial feast was immediately prepared at which Sven officiated and thereafter he was called Blot-Sven, Sven the Sacrificer. So it was that he became King of the Swedes in the place of Inge. Three years after, King Inge, who, like a good Christian of those days, considered murder the proper means of converting the pagans to Christianity, collected a band of his followers and in the night came unperceived to the castle of King Sven, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As King Sven and his men tried to escape from the burning building they were cut down and killed by Inge's men. By force and fraud King Inge was again recognized ruler over the Upper Swedes and under his protection Christianity made great progress over the whole of his kingdom.

Very little is known concerning the late years of the rule of the sons of Stenkil except as to the war which broke out between King Inge and King Magnus Barefoot in Norway. This war was mainly conducted in the neighborhood of West Gothland. After several years of a desolating conflict between the two kingdoms, King Erik of Denmark offered to mediate between them, and the three kings met in the year 1101 at a place called the King's Rock in Gota River, where the dispute between the two kingdoms was defined, terms of peace were agreed upon, and Inge's daughter Margarite was married to King Magnus of Norway, whence she was called, "The Maid of Peace." The King of Sweden and Denmark thereupon prevailed upon the Pope to remove the Northern Kingdoms from

the domineering rule of the Archbishop of Bremen, and in 1104 an Arch-diocese was established for them at Lund. This arrangement made the city of Lund of great prominence during the middle ages.

It is generally supposed that King Inge died about the year 1111, prior to the time that King Halsten of Norway persuaded the people of the Swedish province of Jamtland to separate themselves from Sweden and to recognize the King of Norway. The date of Halsten's death is unknown. The sons of Stenkil were succeeded by Philip and Inge II, or the Younger, both sons of King Halsten, who ruled in peace and quiet. Their time was devoted to the internal improvement of the country. It is evident that they did not rule over the whole of the kingdom of Sweden, for simultaneously with them a certain King Eric ruled over the Upper Swedes at Upsala. He was the son of King Sven, who had been murdered by King Inge after he had sacrificed to the Asa gods. King Philip's rule was short. Inge the Younger died, as it is supposed by poison, about the year 1125. He was the last of the Stenkil dynasty on the male side; but there were several descendants on the female side who soon appeared on the scene and laid claim to the throne of Sweden, and for five years there were many pretenders.

Christianity had, during this era, slowly spread to all parts of the country owing to the energy, perseverance and enthusiasm of the priests, monks and missionaries. Among those who devoted themselves to the conversion of the Swedes during this period David and Askil from England, Stephen from Germany, and the Swede Botvid are deserving of special mention; the

three latter suffered a martyr's death, which was caused by their own fanatical zeal, rather than by persecution for their Christian belief. Askil and Botvid are called the apostles of Sodermanland, David of Westmanland and Stephen of Norrland.

It is related, that on one occasion only was an attempt made to convert the Swedes to Christianity by force of arms, and this was done by strangers. King Sigurd of Norway, who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in his religious enthusiasm undertook a crusade against the Southern part of Sweden. The country near Kalmar was invaded and the heathen were compelled at the point of the sword to adopt Christianity and be baptized. Although many were converted to Christianity in name, and under compulsion, still heathen superstitions continued to flourish in many parts of Sweden; and even during the latter half of the 12th century the Northern parts of the country had not adopted Christianity. Not until about 1200 had Christianity been accepted as the national religion, between three and four hundred years after the time that Ansgar first preached the Christian faith at Birka.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SVERKER AND ERIC DYNASTIES.

1130—1250.

Magnus Elected King by the West Goths—Civil War—Ragnvald, King—Killed by the West Goths—Sverker, King—Promoter of the Church—Influx of Monks and Nuns—Churches and Monasteries—Papal Legate—King Sven of Denmark Invades Sweden—The Upper Swedes in 1150 Elect Eric, a Rich Bonde, King—Related to Inge II.—Upsala Episcopal See—Woman's Equality before the Law—Crusades—The Swedes March to the Holy Land—To Finland and Russia—Finns and Lapps—Eric's Crusade against the Finns, 1157—Abo, Episcopal See of Finland—Eric Murdered—Canonized as St. Eric—Prince Magnus of Denmark, the Murderer, Slain 1161—Charles Elected King—His Policy—Upsala Archbishopric 1164—Stephen, Archbishop—Canute, Son of Eric Claims the Kingdom—Civil War—Charles Killed 1167—Canute King—The Pirates—Stockholm Fortified—Canute Died 1195—The Folkunger—Wealth and Influence—Birger Brosa—Sverker II. King—Exempts Clergy from the Law—War between the Dynasties of Eric and Sverker—Valdemar of Denmark and Sverker II.—Invade Sweden—Eric VII. and the Swedes—Battle of Lena—Danes Defeated—Sverker II.'s Invasion—John I., Son of Sverker II. King—Bishops Become Rulers in Fact—John's Crusades—Death 1222—Eric Elected King—His Flight—Canute King—Eric Returns—Alliance with the Folkungers—Sabina Legate—The Canon Law—Nuns and Friars—New Crusade to Finland—Eric's Death 1250.

During the time succeeding the extinction of the Stenkil Dynasty great confusion, internal strife, and incessant civil war prevailed in Sweden. The different provinces elected their own kings, a proceeding which was generally followed by civil war. A Danish prince, Magnus, laid claim to the Swedish throne, because he

was a descendent of King Inge the Elder. The West Goths elected him King. The Upper Swedes at Mora Stone elected Ragnvald. He demanded that the West Goths should also recognize him as king, claiming that the choice of the Upper Swedes ought to be ratified by them. Then with great pomp and ceremony he marched into the province of West Gothland, without paying any attention to the old customs and laws of the province, which required him to wait at the boundary line until the people's representatives invited him to proceed. The laws of West Gothland specifically prescribed the manner of the King's Eric-gate. The new King having crossed the boundary without leave, the people met him and killed him about the year 1129 for violating the law. In 1133 the East Goths met, and for the first time elected their own King, one Sverker, a prominent and influential man in that part of the country. He had married the widow of King Inge II., or the Younger, which circumstance strengthened his claim to rule over all the Swedes. The Upland Swedes as well as the West Goths recognized him as King. With him began the Sverker dynasty. As he was an East Goth, this province henceforth exercised greater influence in Swedish affairs than it had done heretofore.

King Sverker I. was a quiet and peace-loving man who discouraged war and devoted himself mostly to the concerns of the Christian church, which became fully established in the Gothic provinces during his reign. A new diocese was established at Linkoping and the Catholic system of monasteries and nunneries was introduced into the country. St. Bernard, a monk, was at this period living in France, reforming the con-

vent systems of that part of the world. King Sverker and his Queen sent an embassy to him requesting that he would send monks of his order to Sweden to establish convents there. As a result of this request many monks came to Sweden and by royal assent and assistance established themselves in the country. Their first settlements were situated at Alvastra in East Gothland, Nydal in Smaland, and Varhem in West Gothland, which were soon followed by others. These monks usually settled in the country districts, where they commenced teaching the people the Christian religion, agriculture and manufactures, in which they were mostly skilled; thus introducing Southern civilization and customs among the people. At this time the Pope began to give greater attention to the Scandinavian North and sent a Legate with instructions to examine into the condition of the church there. This Legate was Nicholas, Cardinal-bishop of Albano, who first visited Norway and there established an arch-diocese, after which he visited Sweden and in 1152 met the most distinguished and influential persons of the kingdom as well as of the clergy at Linkoping. This Legate desired to establish an arch-diocese in Sweden also; but as the Swedes could not agree upon the place where the arch-diocese should be established, nor the person to fill the place, the whole question went over for future consideration. However, the Legate was more successful in persuading the Swedish people to make the yearly contributions known as Peter's pence, which was a yearly contribution for the support of the Pope.

Although King Sverker was a man of peaceful

disposition, he nevertheless became involved in war with the Danish King Sven Grade. The latter invaded Sweden in the middle of winter and penetrated far into the forests where the war-like Swedes met him and attacked him without warning, killing a large number of his followers and taking others prisoners, after which he was compelled to retreat. The old disputes between the provinces of Upland and Gothland broke out during this same reign, and the country in general was dissatisfied with the government of Sverker and his family. One of his sons was killed by the Bondes at the Ting, and finally they voted to dethrone the King. In East Gothland he ruled until the year 1156, when he was murdered on Christmas eve by his body servant as he was attending mass. His son Charles succeeded him as King of the East Goths.

After the Upland Swedes had dethroned Sverker, about the year 1150, they elected as their King a famous man of their province named Eric, son of Edward, who according to the chronicles was a good and rich Bonde. He was the first of the royal dynasty of the Erics, a brother-in-law of Inge II., and is described by the chronicles as one of the greatest and best Kings of Sweden during the middle ages. By the assistance of Bishop Henry at Upsala, King Eric succeeded in firmly establishing Christianity in Sweden. He built churches and caused Christian ministers to be ordained; a new Episcopal diocese was firmly established at Upsala, and foundations were laid for two others at Strengnas and Vesteras. King Eric with great zeal and determination endeavored to inculcate a Christian spirit among the people and to Christianize the

customs and laws. Among other things accomplished during his reign, the law giving the wife her proper share in her husband's estate has been ascribed to him, by which the status of both woman and the marriage-tie was elevated. In the capacity of father of his people he traveled around the country, visiting their homes, and watching over the adminstration of justice, settling disputes, and urging all to live in peace and harmony. His private life was that of a devout Christian; and his economy and prudence set an excellent example to all his subjects.

During this period the people of Europe were still possessed by the spirit of the crusades, which was an enthusiastic and fanatical endeavor to rescue the holy sepulcher from the infidels, as well as to convert the heathen to Christianity. Great hosts of Christians assembled every year and moved eastward to the Holy Land. This pious enthusiasm extended to the North and several well equipped fleets sailed from Sweden to Palestine. Michaud's History of the Crusades describes a terrible battle between a Scandinavian fleet with 1,500 Norsemen and the infidels. But the crusades of the Northern Christians,particularly of Sweden,were directed more especially against pagans occupying the countries East of the Baltic. In those parts which are now known as Finland and Russia, lived certain pagans known as Finns, and Vendes, who lived in Esthonia. These people were pirates of long standing, and were a constant scourge to their Christian neighbors. The Danes prepared a crusade against the Vendes and the Swedes directed their efforts against the Finns. Sweden and Finland had from pagan times

been closely associated, and during these times many Swedish colonists had settled on the coast of Finland.

During the early part of the historical era there were living in the south-western part of Finland certain tribes known as the Sumer and the Tavaster, and in the East the Careler, and in the North the Lapps. These people were divided into many small communities. They worshiped certain spirits in nature, both good and evil, but also certain demigods with human characteristics who gradually assumed the most important place in their rites. Among the objects of their reverence was the old prophet known as Vanamoi, who ruled over water and fire, and was the originator of all civilization. He also discovered or originated the art of poetry and music. When he touched his harp the heart of the spiritual and temporal world stood still. The Finns were lovers of song and music, and they celebrated and worshiped their gods and heroes in certain popular songs and poetry which have been preserved by the people and delivered from mouth to mouth to the present time. These have been lately collected and are known by the name of Kalavala songs, a grand epic.

King Eric in an access of pious enthusiasm determined to convert the pagan Finns to Christianity, and according to the custom of the times organized an army and proceeded to reclaim them by the force of arms. When the Finns proved unwilling to abandon the faith of their fathers, he declared open war against them. Backed by his victorious army, he compelled them to be baptized and accept the Christian religion and to receive Christian teachers. This crusade took

place about the year 1157 and was directed principally against the Southwestern part of Finland, known as the province of Abo. The King thereupon returned to Sweden but he left a number of Swedish colonists and priests behind him, among them Bishop Henry, to complete his missionary work. The latter, an enthusiastic and impolitic man, was murdered by a newly converted Finn, who had manifested a vindictive spirit against the bishop. During the following eighty years the Swedish colonists were left to themselves, without any assistance or support from the mother country. Abo was the center of this newly established colony. A fortification was built, and soon a considerable city sprang up around it which became the seat of the Episcopal diocese of Finland.

Soon after King Eric's return to Sweden he fell a victim to the hatred of his enemies. One day he was sitting quietly in the church of East Aros, the present Upsala, attending mass, when a messenger appeared and informed him that a hostile army was approaching, led by Prince Magnus of Denmark. Eric, unwilling to be disturbed in his devotions, waited until the mass was over, then gathered around him what armed men he could find and went forth to meet his foe, but, after a heroic defence, fell covered with wounds, May 18, 1160. There is a legend among the people that on the place where his blood was spilled a fountain welled up out of the earth, and they believe that miracles were performed at his grave. In the eyes of the people he was a holy man, and he was worshiped during the whole of the Catholic period as Saint Eric, and became the patron Saint of Sweden. On the 18th

day of May, the date of his death, the people kept an annual festival, when Saint Eric's mass was sung in the churches. His bones were gathered up, placed in a costly silver chest, and rest in the Cathedral of Upsala. It was believed that his standard brought victory to the army who carried it in their ranks. The holiest oaths were made in his name, and an appeal was made both to God and to Saint Eric the King. Stockholm bears his effigy on its arms. He was not canonized by the See of Rome because his people either could not or would not at the time pay enough to cover the enormous expenses of making him a saint, as demanded by the Pope.

The Danish Prince, Magnus Henrickson, who murdered Eric the King, did not long enjoy the fruits of his heinous crime. The enraged people all over Sweden rose up in arms against him. An army of the East Goths joined them under the command of Charles, son of Sverker, and the united forces won a decided victory over Magnus, who fell in battle near Upsala in 1161. The hitherto separated provinces thus united to avenge the death of Saint Eric, their King. Over his grave they extended to each other the hand of peace and harmony. The Upland Swedes joined and elected Charles their King. Geijer says he was the first king of Sweden to bear the honorable name of Charles, although he was later known in the history of Sweden as Charles VII. Charles is also the first King after the time of Stenkil who ruled over the whole kingdom. He endeavored to harmonize and solidify the separate provinces and thus form a united people. From this time nothing more is heard of Jarls of the different prov-

inces; but the King had by his side one Jarl of the realm who was known as his assistant in the administration of the government. King Charles was aided in harmonizing the different provinces by the circumstance that Sweden was now christianized and had received a common church government. Pope Alexander III. made Sweden a separate church province under its own Archbishop with a seat at Upsala in 1164. The first Archbishop who was consecrated at Upsala was Stephen, a monk from Alvastra.

King Eric the Saint left sons surviving him, of whom the oldest, Canute, soon laid claim to the throne of Sweden. It was not long before he was compelled to abandon his pretentions and flee to Norway. Suddenly he returned and with the Upland Swedes surprised and killed King Charles near Visingso in 1167. After a period of civil war which lasted for five years between him and the Kings of the Sverker family Canute Ericson was recognized by all the Swedes as King, and peace was restored. The chroniclers have little to say of the reign of Canute, except that a sudden attack was made by pagan pirates on Sweden. A hostile fleet appeared in 1187 on the Eastern coast which penetrated far up Malaren, sacking and burning the villages and cities. The Archbishop was attacked in his own castle and murdered. The flourishing city of Sigtuna was burned to the ground. The Swedes now saw the necessity of protecting their coasts, and particularly of defending the entrance to Malaren. A fortress was therefore built on an island which received the name of Stockholm, around which there soon sprang up a flourishing city, which for about 600

years has been the capital of Sweden. Canute died in the Autumn of 1195. By a Swedish wife he had four sons.

The most powerful and wealthy family in Sweden during this period was the family of the Folkunger. Folke Digre was the first of his line and lived about the year 1100. This family increased rapidly in wealth and influence, and by marriage became related to the several royal houses of the North. To this family King Canute's powerful Jarl Birger Brosa belonged. When King Canute died, Sverker II., son-in-law of Jarl Birger, was elected King, although Canute had left several sons. The new King began to strengthen his position and increase his power by alliance with and support of the church, to which he showed many favors. By a royal charter of the year 1200 it was ordained that the clergy were exempt from appearing before any of the courts of the realm, and should be judged by the spiritual courts only. In the same letter mention was also made for the first time of the so-called spiritual fralse, which freed church property, real and personal, from taxes to the crown. These privileges were by succeeding rulers further extended to all property which the church and the priest might acquire in the future. The custom of paying tithes to the church was also introduced into Sweden.

After the death of Birger Brosa, the harmony between King Sverker II. and the sons of Canute came to an end, and the two parties found themselves on the verge of hostilities. Nor were these long delayed, for the armies of the two factions met in a pitched battle near Elgaras in 1205, where three of Canute's sons fell

and the fourth, Eric, fled to Norway where he had near relatives. After the lapse of two years Eric returned and King Sverker II, who had in the meantime become involved in a dispute with the Folkungers, was in turn compelled to flee to his friends and relatives in Denmark. King Valdemar prepared a great army for the assistance of Sverker II. at the head of which he returned to Sweden where he was met by Eric and the Swedes at Lena in West Gothland in 1208. The two armies prepared for a bloody battle, the bloodiest known to Swedish history up to this time, since the battle at Fyrisvall. The Danes were totally defeated and routed, and of the proud Danish army which had invaded Sweden only a few returned to Denmark—among whom was King Sverker himself. The banished King now endeavored to regain his throne by the assistance of the Pope. The powerful Pope Innocent III. threatened the opponents of Sverker II. with excommunication. But when Sverker II. again tried the fortunes of war, and at the head of a second Danish army invaded West Gothland, he was defeated and fell in battle near Gestilren in 1210. This battle was the last bloody encounter between the houses of Sverker and Eric.

Eric Canuteson, victorious over his enemies, was now elected King of Sweden and ruled in peace over a prosperous country. He was the first of the Swedish Kings of whom it is positively known that he was crowned by a Catholic prelate. This procedure was meant to signify that the royal power placed itself under the special protection of the church. King Eric formed an alliance with his former enemy, Valde-

mar, King of Denmark, and married his sister Princess Rikissa. His reign was short, for he died suddenly on the island of Visingso in the year 1216. After his death a son was born to him, also called Eric, who ought to have been the successor to the throne, but the powerful spiritual and temporal lords were not willing to recognize the infant as King and elected the fifteen year old John, son of Sverker II., instead.

King John I. the son of Sverker is usually called the Youth, but also the Pious on account of his submission and great generosity to the church. The spiritual and temporal lords appropriated the government themselves and John I. was King in name only. It was principally the bishops who controlled the government during his reign. Very little is known of his rule, except that he undertook a crusade against certain tribes occupying the country East of the Baltic known as Estland by which very little was accomplished. The King left an army to protect the conquered territories and returned to Sweden. Shortly afterwards the army was attacked by the natives of Estland and almost annihilated. The jarl and chancellor who had accompanied the King and remained in the country were killed. The King died suddenly on the island of Visingso in 1222, the last of the royal house of Sverker. Eric XI., the son of the former King, Eric, who was now six years of age and the only survivor of the royal house of Eric was elected to the throne of Sweden. He has received the appellation of the Halt and the Lisper. During his minority the government was conducted by his relatives and councillors, but without harmony. An ambitious rela-

tive by the name of Canute the Long, Jarl of Sweden and married to the King's sister, raised the standard of revolt and defeated the royal party at Alustra in 1229. He raised himself to the throne, which he held for five years, and then died. After Canute's death King Eric XI. returned from Denmark where he had taken refuge and was again elected King. He is spoken of in the old annals as a just and good ruler, but he was not of much account either in war or peace. He sought alliance with and support from the royal family of the Folkungers. The most powerful man at this time was Ulf Fasi who was in fact the actual ruler.

Jarl Birger of the Folkungers was married to Princess Ingeborg, a sister of the King, and became the most prominent supporter of the King during his government as well as during the revolt led by Canute Long's son, Holmger. The King suppressed the rebellion in 1247 and Holmger was arrested and executed the following year.

A papal legate, William, Bishop of Sabina, visited Sweden and summoned the temporal and spiritual lords to a meeting at Skeninge in 1248. The most important result of this church council was the imposition of celibacy on the clergy, which prevented the priests from entering the marriage state, and separated them from the rest of the people, making it obligatory upon them to devote themselves entirely to the service of the church. A rule was also adopted imposing on the bishops the obligation of studying the canon law. That this order of things might gradually be introduced into the country it was further enacted by the papal legate that the bishops should be elected by the

chapters of the clergy exclusively, and not be interfered with by the temporal powers. He further ordained that the priests and spiritual lords should be under no obligation to take the oath of allegiance to the government. Through these and several other ordinances the hierarchy or church government was fully established in Sweden, and the Swedish church was regulated in conformity with the other branches of the Catholic church. The newly established orders of monks and nuns were encouraged; and the so-called orders of poverty, whose members did not separate themselves from the world like certain other orders, increased. They went out among the people, living on charity, and instructing the people in religion. These monks in the Northern part of Europe received their names from the color of their gowns and were called Black Friars and Gray Friars. They attained great influence among the common and ignorant people whom they instructed in a blind and submissive worship of the church and the Pope.

After Jarl Birger had restored order and peace within the kingdom, he took steps to restore Swedish supremacy in Finland, and to carry out the work begun there by St. Eric. The Swedish colony in Finland had suffered greatly during the many years of its abandonment. Savage hordes of Russians overran the colony with fire and sword, committing the most cruel outrages, murdering the people and burning the villages. An army had been organized in Finland to meet the Russians but it was defeated at the river Nevi. Jarl Birger in the year 1249 organized an army in Sweden to prosecute the crusade through Finland. He pene-

trated as far as Tavastaland and compelled its inhabitants to accept baptism and become Christians. He established colonists and erected the fortress called Tavastahus to protect the newly constituted colony. The Swedish supremacy was from this time forward recognized in Finland, Newland and Tavastaland. It was undoubtedly the intention of Birger to prosecute his conquests beyond Finland, but when information came that King Eric was dead, the Jarl hastened his return to Sweden in 1250.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FOLKUNGER DYNASTY.

1250—1319.

Dynasty of St. Eric Extinct—Jarl Birger—Valdemar Elected King—Birger Returns to Sweden—Guardian of the King—Philip and Canute Magnus Invade Sweden—Defeated—Sweden Supreme in Scandinavia—Birger's Policy was Peace with Denmark and Norway—Alliance with Germany—The Hansa League—Its Commerce with Sweden—Foundation of Stockholm—Birger the Legislator—Laws Enacted—Slavery Abolished—Birger, Sweden's First Statesman—Valdemar and Duke Magnus—Valdemar's Pilgrimage to Rome—Magnus and the Danes Invade Sweden—Valdemar is Defeated—Magnus Elected King—Valdemar Escapes to Denmark—Takes Possession of Gothland—Magnus' Manner of Life—Influence of Foreigners—The King's Father-in-law Taken Prisoner—Released—Laws Protecting Travelers and the Public—Magnus Ladulas—Military Regulations—Introduction of Chivalry—Origin of the Nobility—Church Released from Taxation—Foreign Relations of King Magnus—Gothland United with Sweden—Gothland's Commerce and Laws—Magnus' Death—Birger, King—Torgils Knutson—Laws Codified—The Pope Threatens the Marshal—The Boundaries of Finland—Crusade—Viborg Fortified—Second Crusade against Russia—Carelen Incorporated with Sweden—Relation between Sweden, Denmark and Norway—Intermarriage of the Royal Houses—Character of Duke Eric—The King and His Brothers—Rebellion of Eric and Valdemar—Defeated—Conspiracy against the Marshal—His Trial and Execution—Second Rebellion of the Dukes—Pacification—The Dukes Taken Prisoners and Perish—The Swedes Rebel against the King—Magnus, Son of Eric, King—Birger's Death.

Jarl Birger.—When King Eric died the royal dynasty of St. Eric came to an end. It was therefore necessary to elect a new King from some other family.

The most powerful man in the land at this time was Jarl Birger, but he was not a descendant of the royal house; his sons were in a different position, for their mother was a sister of the late King. The lords spiritual and temporal immediately decided upon Valdemar the oldest son of Birger. Joar Blue, a powerful and influential man, hastened to bring about an election of a King before the Jarl had a chance to return from Finland, where he was superintending a crusade against the Finns and Russians, and Valdemar was elected King of Sweden. History relates that when the Jarl returned to Sweden, he was at first dissatisfied with the election as he had anticipated being elected King himself, but at last he became pacified, and as his son Valdemar the King was still a child, Jarl Birger became in reality the King of Sweden.

Jarl Birger's first measure as his son's guardian was to protect the throne against competitors and rebellious subjects. Holmger's brother Philip and Canute Magnus of the Folkungers, who considered that they had a better right to the throne than King Valdemar, rose in rebellion. They collected an army of foreigners and invaded the country in 1251. The Jarl met them at Hervades Bridge in a pitched battle. He defeated the foreigners and slew a large portion of them, took the ringleaders prisoners and put them to death. After this victory none dared to attack the powerful Jarl, and from henceforward he devoted himself undisturbed to ameliorating the condition and developing the resources of the country. By his energetic measures he elevated the country to great political influence among the foreign powers.

Up to this time Sweden had struggled for supremacy over the other Scandinavian kingdoms, but from now on she suddenly rose to a point where she exerted political influence and enjoyed prestige abroad. Birger's policy was to preserve peace and equality among the Northern kingdoms. He formed a close alliance with King Hakon the Old, of Norway. These wise and powerful rulers continued to live in harmony and ruled their respective countries on the best of terms. They had frequent meetings near the borders of their countries. When war broke out between the Kings of Norway and Denmark, the Jarl of Sweden appeared as mediator and endeavored to reconcile them. Young King Valdemar married the daughter of the King of Denmark, and the Jarl took as his second wife the Queen Dowager of that country.

Sweden and Germany now entered into a close alliance and formed a commercial treaty. It was at this time that the North German cities formed the Hanseatic league with Lubeck as their leader. The object of this confederacy was to completely control the commerce of the Northern countries. Sweden formed a commercial treaty with Lubeck, whereby free trade and mutual citizenship were granted to the respective peoples. But the Swedes had had too little experience in the arts of trade, commerce and manufactures to be able to turn the freedom granted them by this treaty to proper advantage. They did, however, derive considerable profit from their connection with Germany, for a great many Germans emigrated to Sweden and settled in the cities, where they engaged in mining and manufacture, and it was through their influence that many of the

cities in Sweden were organized and conducted after the model of those in foreign countries. The city of Stockholm increased rapidly in population and influence. It was through the special care and exertion of Birger that this city henceforth became one of the greatest in the country.

The most glorious and enduring monument of the administration of Jarl Birger is formed of the new laws which he enacted. When his son Valdemar married the Danish Princess, Birger caused a law to be passed that a woman should henceforth inherit equally with her brother on their father's death. Previous to this time she could only inherit from her parents when there was no brother. Jarl Birger endeavored further to check and control the spirit of violence, contention and dispute which pervaded the people. This he did by having certain laws passed called the King's peace. The previously existing laws, which gave every man the right to revenge a supposed or real wrong, could not as yet be repealed entirely, but certain checks were placed upon them in so far that if any one broke the peace of the place where court was held, he was punished with banishment and the loss of all his personal property. Birger further prohibited the unnatural custom, still in vogue, of making the accused prove his innocence by carrying red hot iron in his hands, or walking barefoot on burning coals. The Jarl also prohibited slavery, and emancipated those who had given themselves into slavery by contract or otherwise. He suppressed the hitherto prevailing customs which allowed poor people to voluntarily surrender themselves to the more

fortunate and wealthy as slaves for debt. By means of these benevolent laws Birger greatly improved the moral and spiritual condition of the Swedish people and brought about a new order of things in the land. He raised the people out of ignorance and darkness and lifted them to a higher standard of civilization, intelligence and enlightenment. He is the first ruler in Swedish history to really deserve the name of statesman, and his memory will be ever cherished by a grateful people.

Valdemar and Magnus Ladulas.—King Valdemar had taken no part in the government during the lifetime of his father. He was unfit to be the ruler of a free people, as he was a man without ability or decision of character. He spent his time in diversions and amusements and soon lost the respect of his people. On the other hand Duke Magnus, his brother, had inherited his father's character and qualities. He was wise, prudent, cautious, energetic, and active, in addition to being ambitious and desirous of gaining power and influence. King Valdemar feeling jealous of the increasing power and popularity of his brother, the Duke, sought to injure him by forming an alliance with King Magnus Lagebote of Norway, who was married to a sister of the Queen of Sweden.

King Valdemar made a pilgrimage to Rome, and after his return to Sweden the smoldering animosity between the brothers broke out in full flame. Duke Magnus and his younger brother went to Denmark where they received assistance of King Eric Glipping. They returned during the year 1275 at the head of a well-equipped army principally composed of cavalry,

landed on the Western coast of Sweden, and penetrated through West Gothland. They met the royal Swedish army at the large forest called Tiveden. King Valdemar with his best troops was stationed to the North of the forest, when a swift messenger arrived and announced that the vanguard of his army, composed mainly of peasants, had been attacked by the army of his brother Magnus and completely routed at a place called Hafra. King Valdemar on hearing this news lost all control of himself, abandoned his army and fled in a state of panic without waiting for further confirmation of this unexpected intelligence. He was pursued, overtaken, and made prisoner. His brother Magnus, who had thus won an easy victory, was elected and heralded King at the Ting of Mora the same year by the Upland Swedes. Valdemar, when released from prison shortly afterwards, did not long maintain a peaceful attitude toward his brother, the newly chosen King of the Swedes. The next year he left Sweden with a certain following and visited King Magnus to invoke his assistance against his brother. The Norwegian King being peaceably disposed was unwilling to commence war on his neighbor and endeavored by pacific means to bring about a settlement between the brothers. This did not suit Valdemar, so he abandoned the Norwegian court and departed for Denmark.

King Eric of Denmark and Magnus of Sweden were not on friendly terms. Eric now had a good pretext for war, and at the head of a Danish army Valdemar invaded Gothland. Magnus met him with his Swedes. An indecisive battle was fought in which neither was victorious. After some negotiations it was agreed that

Valdemar should hold Gothland and collect the revenues. Both parties violated the agreements and Valdemar was forced to retire to his own estates, there to remain in peace and quiet.

Magnus after this treaty assumed the title of "King of the Swedes and Goths" which since that day has been the title of the Swedish Kings.

Internal political disturbances broke out afresh in the country. King Magnus was a lover of pomp and ceremonies. He kept a brilliant court and spent the revenues of the country in festivities, tournaments, and shows. His extravagant tendencies were greatly increased by his marriage with a daughter of the Duke of Holstein, the beautiful Helvig. He showed favoritism towards the foreign nobility, many of whom visited his court and whom he preferred to the Swedish nobles. The latter, thus placed in the background, became exasperated, dissatisfied and jealous, and several of them conspired together to put an end to the influence of these foreigners.

When the King's father-in-law visited Sweden and met the King of Sweden at the royal Castle, near the city of Skara, the conspirators appeared at the Castle, murdered one of the foreign favorites of the King, took his father-in-law prisoner, and removed him to a distant part of the country. The King concealed his anger until his father-in-law had been set at liberty. He pretended to forgive the conspirators and made them believe that everything was forgotten; then he invited them to a great festival at the Castle where they had previously appeared and taken his father-in-law prisoner and committed their murderous acts. In the

midst of the festivities the King caused the conspirators to be arrested, tried and executed for an act of treason. Among these conspirators was one of the most powerful of the nobles, the wealthy and most influential Folkunger John Phillipson. These events took place in 1280.

Through these and many other stringent acts the King was enabled to keep the restless and unruly nobility under control. He endeavored further by wise laws to pursue a peaceful policy and establish order within his domains, thus pursuing successfully the work which his father had commenced. In the year 1280 the King called the most influential members of the nobility and clergy to a Riksdag at Alsno, where a law was passed prohibiting the outrages which had hitherto been committed against the bondes by travelers, who forcibly and with violence took possession of whatever they wanted in the way of food and accommodation for themselves and their numerous attendants and horses without paying for it. It was decreed that in every village a certain hotel keeper should be appointed whose duty it was to supply the traveling public with food and shelter for a reasonable compensation. To the concern which the King exhibited for the welfare and happiness of the bondes and the yeomanry he owes the beautiful name which was applied to him, namely Ladulas, which means, barnlock; for the common people considered this law and the King's concern for their welfare as a lock to their barns. About the same time King Magnus confirmed the laws already passed during the lifetime of his father; and he also added other statutes appropriate to the condi-

tion of his people at the time. The royal prerogatives were greatly extended during his reign, and he exerted greater influence in every direction in his dominion than any King prior to his time had done. During a Riksdag held in 1285 at Skeninge he asserted for himself and his Council the right to pass appropriate laws in cases where the old provincial laws had made no provision. At the same Riksdag a law was passed prohibiting the greater nobility from organizing into secret societies, and no one was permitted to attend the King's Council except he was specially summoned for that purpose by royal mandate.

The most important of the laws and regulations enacted during the reign of this King was that which concerned the military regulations of his people in relation to cavalry service; for the ancient military obligations in the North related principally to naval warfare.

During these times the armies of the other European powers had developed new tactics based chiefly upon the existence of a well equipped cavalry since an army of infantry, as they were then organized and equipped, could hardly resist the attack of steel-clad cavalry making sudden charges in solid columns and armed with long lances. Magnus had during his wars found out the value of these new tactics; he therefore prepared to establish a similar cavalry service in his own country, selecting for this purpose in the first instance those of his immediate entourage, whom he also freed from liability to taxation; but as he found that he had need of still more men and horses, it was ordained by the Riksdag of Alsno that all who would undertake to support a cavalryman and horse, that is

those who were willing to serve the King on horseback, should enjoy the privilege of freemen and should be free in respect of themselves and of their landed estate. This was the origin of the "Adliga fralset," the privileges of the nobility. Whereas formerly every bonde and landholder had been a warrior, military service now became a profession. This new cavalry became henceforth a separate class of soldiers, furthermore a class which enjoyed freedom from taxation and other privileges; it is therefore not astounding that this free estate began soon to consider itself superior to the large mass of the tax-paying community who were called tax-payers. Those families who had for several generations fulfilled such military service began soon to consider this freedom from taxes and other privileges as a right of inheritance, and thus the foundation was laid for a heritable nobility. About this time the order of chivalry was introduced into Sweden; the most distinguished and wealthy in the mounted service were called cavaliers and rose to pre-eminence among the privileged classes; they were known as "Lords" and permitted to wear golden spurs; they were appointed and dubbed knights by the King with great pomp and ceremony; they were also decorated and obliged to take oath that they would always conduct themselves as became true Christian knights. There was in addition a lower degree next to this class of knights, the members of which were called "Esquires." King Magnus intended in this manner to give more brilliancy to his court and greater strength to his army; he adopted many of the foreign customs and called his knights together for practice drill and exercises and tournaments.

Although the King surrounded himself with every kind of worldly pomp, he was nevertheless a good Christian and very generous towards the church and the priesthood; he granted freedom from taxation to the Church, not only in respect of the property then owned by her, but also in respect of that which she might acquire in the future. His generosity also founded several new monasteries, while he showed special favor to the Franciscan friars.

In his foreign relations King Magnus pursued the wise policy which his father had initiated. Sweden began to be a stronger power in the North and in consequence of her continued peace, harmony, and wise administration, was frequently called upon to settle disputes between her neighbors. The great respect which was shown toward Magnus brought about the result that the Island of Gothland, which up to this time had been semi-independent, voluntarily formed a permanent union with and became incorporated as a province of Sweden. Gothland had ever since the times of the Vikings been a center for the commerce of the Baltic and of the surrounding countries, and her merchants had thus accumulated enormous wealth. The city of Visby was the most prominent commercial city of the North at that time and a member of the Hanseatic league, and German merchants resided there. The mercantile community oppressed the peasants on the island and they, after submitting to many outrages, rose in rebellion in order to vindicate their rights and privileges. King Magnus found it incumbent upon him to settle the dispute between them, which he did by compelling the merchants to pay a heavy fine.

The Island of Gothland is a Swedish province, and is a midway station between the Swedish mainland and the European continent. The city of Visby, which is located on the Western coast of the island, possesses a fine harbor, and during the early and middle ages led a flourishing existence, until July, 1361, when it was assaulted and stormed by Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark, who took away as much treasure and movable property as his ships could carry off. The many ruins of churches and cathedrals, buildings and fortifications of the city and suburbs, testify to the former opulence of the place.

The most enduring monument of this Swedish and Gothic city is its "Sjoratt"—Maritime law—upon which as a foundation the Maritime laws of the civilized nations have since been constructed. Parsons, in his work on Maritime laws, compares this Visby law with that of Oleron. The former by its internal evidence is undoubtedly the oldest, having grown up with the city during pagan times.

The people who enacted this law had attained a high degree of civilization, so that this code covers a wide range and deals with many subjects. Its 66 chapters embrace all the details pertaining to the laws of shipping, and in concise and expressive language lay down rules and regulations for the merchant, the captain and the sailor, which range from the wages and daily care of the latter, on the one hand, to the disposition of the cargo and vessel, if in distress, on the other.

The municipal code of the city called Visby's "Stadslag" is a model of its kind. It is divided into four

books and 237 chapters. The great Swedish scholar and philologist, Dr. C. J. Schlyter, published these Codes in 1853, containing five different codices, and a modern Swedish version, with a glossary in Swedish and Latin.

In order to make the sovereignty hereditary in his own family King Magnus caused his oldest son Birger to be proclaimed successor to the throne, and his own brother Valdemar to be imprisoned at the castle of Linkoping, where the dethroned monarch remained until his death in 1302. King Magnus had previously died, in the year 1290, sincerely mourned by his people, and left surviving his three minor sons, Birger, who succeeded him on the throne, and the Dukes Eric and Valdemar.

King Birger, His Brothers and Torgils Knutson (1290—1319).—King Magnus had on his death bed appointed the brave and eminent statesman, Torgils, marshal of the realm, guardian of his sons and regent during their minority; and he proved himself to be worthy of the confidence which the King had placed in him. From his post at the helm of the state he administered the government steadfastly, conscientiously, and unselfishly, evincing the same spirit which the late King Magnus Ladulas and Birger Jarl had shown before him, so that it can be said that during the time these three rulers were in power Sweden enjoyed more happiness and prosperity than at any other period during the middle ages.

The marshal Torgils Knutson continued the revision and codification of the laws of Sweden which his predecessors had begun. Previous to this time the West

Goths had compiled their own provincial laws; the East Goths had done the same; and now three other provinces also determined to revise and compile their laws; this was done under the superintendence of Birger Person of Finsta, Lawman of Tiundaland, assisted by the most learned and intellectual men of the province; the law of Upland was revised and adopted by the Landsting and received royal sanction in the year 1296. Although Marshal Torgils belonged to the most artistocratic and privileged class, he nevertheless understood and valued the importance of upholding the royal power and authority and making the wealthy and powerful nobles of the country bow to it. He took up the same position in defending the rights of the crown against the ecclesiastical power, and, by so doing, angered Pope Bonifacius VIII., who threatened him with excommunication; but the papal threats did not at this time have the same influence over the people as formerly, and did not frighten the powerful marshal.

The administration of Torgils Knutson was also distinguished by military achievements, for he finished the war which Eric, called the Saint, and Birger Jarl had commenced. He extended the eastern boundaries of Sweden, and caused the gospel to be preached among the christianized inhabitants of Finland. During his first crusade in Finland in the year 1293 he directed his army against the wild and savage inhabitants of Carelen; he built on their coasts a strong fortification called Viborg and conquered the larger portion of the district; but when the Russians tried to prevent the Swedes from advancing further the marshal turned his

arms against them, the Russian free state Great Novgorod being at this time the nearest neighbor to Sweden on the East. During his second crusade the marshal penetrated as far as the rivers Ladoga and Narva; but these gains were soon after lost, Sweden, however, retaining Carelen. During these times many Swedes emigrated and settled in the eastern portion of Finland.

With the neighboring kingdoms of Denmark and Norway Torgils Knutson continued at peace and did not mix himself up in the bloody wars which continued to harass and annoy them. Sweden maintained a friendly relation with Denmark in consequence of the double family relations which existed between the two royal families. Ingeborg, the daughter of King Magnus, was married to King Eric Menved of Denmark, and the young King of Sweden was married to Margarete, the daughter of the Danish King. In the year 1295 King Birger of Sweden came of age, but the marshal nevertheless continued to be his most trusted councillor and adviser.

Duke Eric, the second son of King Magnus Ladulas, was the most talented of the three. He was in all things an accomplished knight, was friendly and popular, but at the time a great conspirator; in fact all three brothers were unreliable and lacking in moral character. It was not long before a bright opportunity came to the ambitious Duke Eric, when he was engaged to be married to the two year old Ingeborg, daughter of King Hakon and heir apparent to the crown of Norway. Shortly afterwards the Dukes came into possession of their provinces, Eric receiving the province of

Sodermanland and Valdemar coming into possession of Finland. But harmony did not reign long between the brothers; the Dukes took up independent attitudes, declined to obey the King, and finally left the country in order to seek assistance against their brother. King Hakon of Norway espoused their cause and surrendered possession of the citadel and town of Konghalls to his intended son-in-law. From this fortress the Dukes invaded West Gothland and took possession of the Province of Dal, but when King Birger and the marshal attacked them at the head of a large army they were compelled to sue for peace and promise again to be faithful. Peace was concluded between the three brothers at a meeting held near the mouth of the river Gota; the Dukes thereupon received back their provinces; at the same time King Hakon of Norway surrendered to them the Northern portion of Halland. which he had conquered during his war with Denmark.

The Dukes became thoroughly convinced that they would not be successful in accomplishing their ambitious designs so long as Marshal Torgils remained the principal adviser of the King, and so they determined, if possible, to ruin him. After ingratiating themselves with the King they succeeded in making him believe that it was the marshal who had caused all the dispute and trouble between the brothers. Torgils Knutson, an honorable and upright man, not knowing anything of their vile designs, was at this time living on his estate of Lena in West Gothland, when the three brothers with their suites came upon him suddenly and arrested him. After tying him by the feet to a horse they dragged him to Stockholm where he was condemned to

death by the King and beheaded in the year 1306. This cruel and outrageous conduct on the part of the King is the blackest spot on his memory and shows him to have been a man without principle and character; nor did his perfidy continue long unpunished. Scarcely had the Dukes obtained a free hand through the death of Torgils when they threw off the mask, and the same year paid what they pretended was a friendly visit to the King at his palace at Hatuna, where he was unprotected; and suddenly attacking him with their companions, took him and his family prisoners. It was then not long before they were enabled to seize the government and become masters of the kingdom.

At the time the Dukes made the attack on King Birger and took him prisoner, a faithful servant of his succeeded in taking the King's oldest son Magnus and escaping with him to his uncle, Eric Menved, King of Denmark. The Danish King hastened to make ready his army and determined to assist his son-in-law, King Birger, and thus a war broke out between Denmark and Sweden. In the meantime the imprisoned King Birger had been persuaded to enter into a negotiation and treaty, in which he promised to be satisfied with such parts of the kingdom as his brothers were willing to assign to him; scarcely, however, had he been freed from his imprisonment than he fled to Denmark. Affairs took an unexpected turn when King Hakon of Norway, dissatisfied with his intended son-in-law, broke off relations with him and joined his enemies; and the position of the Dukes became desperate when all three Northern Kings joined hands and marched against them, both from Norway and Denmark; but Eric went

to work and made extensive preparations and conducted negotiations so skilfully that their affairs were finally settled to the advantage of the Dukes. The war was brought to an end and peace concluded at the several meetings of the Kings and Dukes held at the City of Helsingborg during the years 1310—1313.

King Birger received as his share about one third of Sweden, and all other points in dispute between the Northern kingdoms were settled at the same time.

Peace now prevailed for a short time in Sweden and the other Northern kingdoms, but it was not on that account a happy and prosperous time; for the kingdom of Sweden was divided between three rulers who spent the resources of the country in a life of luxury, wasting the substance of their subjects whom they taxed indiscriminately. Other misfortunes were added; famine and pestilence visited the country, and the people became so dissatisfied with their rulers that they finally rose in rebellion against their oppression. Duke Eric was the most powerful of the three brothers and ruled over a portion of the country adjoining those portions of Norway and Denmark which are called West Gothland, Dal, and Vermland, the Northern part of Halland and Konghall. His young son Magnus was heir apparent to the throne of Norway, and it appeared to him not a difficult task to eject his weak-minded brother from the throne of Sweden. Even in Denmark he succeeed in attaching a large portion of the populace to his cause, but these ambitious designs were suddenly checked by a new fraud which surpassed all previous faithlessness. King Birger, who had been continually thrown into the shade by his

brothers, nursed a bitter hatred against them and endeavored to find an opportunity for revenge. Such an opportunity presented itself in the year 1317 when by many demonstrations of friendliness he induced both his brothers to visit him at his castle Nykoping, where he showed them every attention and by many flattering words and acts of friendship threw them off their guard. One evening he had prepared a great feast for them, and after the festivities were over they were conducted into private chambers and went to rest in the castle; but in the middle of the night the King's supporters and guards broke open the door leading into their rooms, arrested them, chained them and threw them into the prison tower. King Birger was beside himself with joy over the happy termination of this undertaking, the devising of which was ascribed to the Queen and the chancellor, John Brunke; and this disgraceful and outrageous act of treachery became known as "The festival of Nykoping" and served to balance that which the Dukes had practiced on the King and his family shortly before at Hatuna.

Birger supposed that he was now sole ruler over Sweden and that he was confirmed in his regal power; but his action was followed by results which he had not anticipated, as all over the country the people rose in rebellion and the friends of the Dukes hastened to deliver them.

The Dukes continued prisoners for about six months and finally, when the King fled from Nykoping, perished in prison in the year 1318, supposedly of starvation. Their hapless fate still more exasperated the friends of the Dukes; Nykoping was attacked and

taken; Birger's young son Magnus, who with the assistance of Danish troops was defending the castle of Stegeborg, finally surrendered; the chancellor Brunke was taken prisoner and executed, and King Birger was at last compelled to flee and seek refuge in Denmark. The wealthy and prominent lords of the realm elected as chief marshal of the kingdom the brave and renowned Matts Kettilmundson who afterwards with an army invaded Scania and compelled the Danish King Eric to abandon the cause of Birger. Representatives from all the different provinces of Sweden met in the following year at Mora and elected the three year old Magnus Ericson, Duke Eric's only son, to succeed King Birger. A short time previously King Hakon of Denmark had died, and as young Magnus Ericson was his next heir he was also elected king of Norway. But the unfortunate and imprisoned Magnus, son of King Birger, although he had committed no wrong was, according to the decision of the Council of State, condemned and executed —a sacrifice for the wickedness of his father and for the safety of the country. The news of his son's death hastened the death of the already broken down King Birger, which occurred in the year 1321.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CALMAR UNION—MAGNUS ERICSON, ALBERT, HAKON AND MARGARET RULERS IN SWEDEN.

1319—1388.

Swedish Government Has Become an Oligarchy—Calmar Union—Sweden and Norway United—King Magnus—Countries Governed by Council—Ingeborg and Porse—Grandees Meeting at Skara—Chancellor Blue—Norwegians Act in Self-Defence—War between Sweden and Russia Ended—Carelen—Finland and Savolak Swedish Provinces—Settlement and Improvement of Finland—Arrogance of the Grandees—King Magnus a Weak Prince—Denmark Near Dissolution—Dutch Influence in the North—Treaty Concerning Scania—Hakon King of Norway—Magnus Improves on the Laws of Sweden—Lands Law—Stads Law—St. Birgitta—Magnus at War with Russia—Black Death—Dissatisfaction among all Classes—Magnus and Eric—Valdemar of Denmark and Albert of Mecklenberg Invade Sweden—Lords Dethrone Magnus—His Son, Hakon, King—Albert Chosen King—Stockholm Captured—Civil War—Departure of Magnus and Hakon—Bondes Rise against the Nobles—A Compromise—Albert, King of Sweden—German Influence—Grip Chancellor—Discords and Violence—Valdemar's Death—Olaf, King in Denmark—Margaret, Ruler—Pretentions to the Swedish Crown—Olaf's Death—Margaret Elected Queen—Albert and His Germans Defeated and Driven from the Country.

This period may properly be called the time of oligarchy, but it is also called the period of the "Calmar Union," a Union between the three Scandinavian kingdoms. During this era the wealthy or aristocratic landholders absorbed the greater portion of the governing power, setting the royal prerogative as well as the liberty of the people at naught. The

Union between the three Northern kingdoms which was accomplished during the reign of Queen Margaret was taken advantage of by the Kings as well as by the lords of the realm at the expense of the people's liberty; but at last the Swedes, imbued with patriotic spirit, threw off the yoke, and a revolution was finally accomplished. Through the frequent changes of Kings the people were aroused to a sense of their oppression and asserted their right to political freedom and secured it. In Denmark, however, political liberty was entirely suppressed. Norway on the other hand became a province of Denmark and thus lost her independence.

In the year 1319 Sweden and Norway were for the first time united under one King, the three year old Magnus Ericson, yet this bond of union was loose and undefined; the two kingdoms had nothing in common, neither sharing the same laws nor espousing the same quarrels, they had simply one and the same King. During the minority of the King the respective kingdoms were governed by their own Councils of state. The Duchess Ingeborg and her favorite, the Danish nobleman Knut Porse, caused constant trouble to the governments on account of her being the mother of the young King and influencing his actions. In order to put an end to this constant trouble thirty-five of the spiritual and temporal lords met at the City of Skara in 1322 and formed a compact whereby they bound themselves to faithfully resist all increases of power on the part of the Duchess and her favorites. The office of chancellor of state was given to Knut Johnson Blue who also became the most notable man in

the government of Sweden; the several chiefs of Norway followed the same example and repelled all advances of the Duchess and elected a special administrator. Knut Porse after several years of intrigues and disputes with those in power was compelled to leave the country and retire to Denmark where he afterwards married the Duchess.

War between Sweden and the republic of Novgorod, which, with the exception of a few intervals, had been carried on from time of Torgils Knutson, was finally terminated in the year 1323 by the peace of Noteborg, when Western Carelen and Savolak were incorporated with Sweden and the boundary between the two kingdoms was defined. This the first treaty of peace definitely known to history was made and entered into between Sweden and Russia, and through it Finland was for the future secured to Sweden, becoming henceforward more closely united to her new rulers, not through conquest and violence but partly by the settlement of large numbers of Swedish people on her soil and partly by the use of the same language, customs and civilization. The Finns were greatly benefited by the Union with Sweden which gave them political liberty, enlightenment and education; on the other hand the Finns living in Estland and Livonia, who had been conquered by the German knights, were reduced to a condition very like slavery by the German nobility. The Lapps also, who were living in the Northern part of Sweden, at this time submitted to the rule of Sweden and began to pay taxes to the Swedish King. The Swedish people too began to establish settlements further North, and the country

developed rapidly in districts which had up to this time been covered with forests.

It is natural that a government which had been for so many years in the hands of the guardians of the young King should have added to the power of the wealthy and independent nobility while tending to reduce the royal prerogative; and henceforth a small number of rich and influential nobles usurped the power of government and the King became hardly more than a figure-head. This many-headed oligarchy governing during the period of the King's minority was not able to keep order within the country and to administer justice according to the laws of the land. Many of the nobility traveled through the country like common marauders with followers armed to the teeth, robbing and plundering the village communities. The property of the crown was wasted and misappropriated, and when the young King came of age and took charge of affairs in the year 1332 there were no funds in the treasury and the crown was heavily in debt.

King Magnus was not a man fitted to govern two kingdoms of such diverse interests during these unfortunate and rebellious times. He was a man of good character, who meant well and endeavored to rule his kingdoms for the benefit of his people, but he lacked the power and character to bring his recalcitrant subjects into submission. However, when he commenced his reign after coming of age, the future appeared bright and his subjects were hopeful of prosperity. The Danish kingdom was at this time on the point of dissolution, divided as it was between a few of the wealthy nobility and oppressed by the Dutch who had

settled in the kingdom in large numbers. Scania, which had been turned over to Duke John of Holstein as security for a loan, finally rebelled against her oppressors, the people of the province rising to a man and driving the Dutch out of the country, whereupon they placed themselves under the rule of Sweden. King Magnus accepted their allegiance and in 1332 was elected King of Scania and Bleking. The Duke of Holstein in the end voluntarily ceded the two provinces in return for a large sum of money. Afterwards, when King Valdemar Atterdag ascended the throne of Denmark, he confirmed the cession of the provinces of Scania and Bleking and also handed over the province of Halland. The sum paid for the three provinces amounted to about one and a half million crowns; at that time, this large sum of money could not be raised in the country but had to be obtained by means of loans for which ample securities were demanded; so the King and his government were in a state of financial embarrassment during his whole reign, and the internal condition and prosperity of his country did not correspond with the outward appearance of greatness of King Magnus. Other troubles arose when the Norwegians became dissatisfied with his government and desired to dissolve the union; and it is true that as King Magnus seldom visited Norway her government was neglected. The King was finally compelled to yield to the wishes of the Norwegian government, and at a meeting of the most powerful Norwegians in Varberg in 1343 abdicated the crown. Hakon, the younger son of King Magnus, was, however, to be allowed to continue his rule over Norway until the year 1355; his older son

Eric was elected successor to the throne of Sweden, and now it appeared as if the union between Sweden and Norway had been settled for the future.

The internal government of King Magnus is remarkable for many great improvements in the administration of justice and for the adoption of new laws looking to the welfare of his people. The many acts of violence committed by the strong and wealthy aristocracy and other marauders against the common people were punished with severe penalties, and when Magnus in the year 1335 traveled his Eric-gate he passed the law of emancipation which put an end to serfdom in Sweden, a condition which had existed in certain districts up to this time. The administration of justice was improved by the organization of a supreme court and other inferior courts of judicature. The provinces of Norrland and Finland were settled. Land was cleared and cultivated, and mining and other manufacturing interests were encouraged. But the most notable of all King Magnus's many internal improvements was the bestowal upon Sweden of a common and general law. Hitherto the different provinces had had their own provincial laws, and these were now by his foresight revised, modified and improved until one law became applicable to the whole of the country. Dating from the time of Birger Jarl, many special statutes had been passed applicable to the whole kingdom, but now for the first time was the whole of the civil code adapted and applied to all the provinces. A commission had been appointed to revise and codify the laws of the different provinces, and when this code had been drafted in 1247 it was examined and gradu-

ally adopted by them. It is known by the name of the general Lands-law of Magnus Ericson. A commission was appointed at the same time to prepare a civil code applicable to the cities as commercial communities, called Magnus Ericson's Stads-law.

For the period in which he lived, Magnus Ericson was an intelligent, well educated, and good Prince; influenced by his Queen, Blanche of Namar, he encouraged the cultivation of letters, fine arts, refinement, and higher civilization; but at the same time extravagance and vanity followed in their track. It was at this time that Saint Birgitta, one of the Saints of Sweden, a daughter of the wealthy Birger Person of Finsta and a relative of the King, began to exert her pious influence to uplift the moral character of the country. As she was a power in Sweden because of her piety, learning, and prophetic inspiration she endeavored by counsel and writings to give advice to the rulers and to lead them and direct them in better paths; she also made several pilgrimages to the holy land and to Rome which she made her abode for several years, and where she finally died in the year 1373.

King Magnus after years of untroubled rule and though surrounded by peaceful neighbors now became anxious for martial renown, although he lacked the ability and skill to conduct a war successfully; so he declared war against Russia and in person led his troops against that country on two different occasions without reaping any advantage or glory; these unfortunate wars lowered his popularity while they increased his former indebtedness. On the top of all the

other misfortunes which at this time visited the North, came the terrible pestilence which is known by the name of "The Black Death." It came from Asia and spread over the whole of Europe. In Sweden it was called "Diger Death." In Norway it was known by the name of "The Great Men Death." The contagion was brought by certain trading vessels to Denmark and Norway and it spread with great rapidity from these two kingdoms to Sweden where it raged during the year 1350; it is estimated that in the North more than two-thirds of the inhabitants died of it and in many villages nearly all the inhabitants perished, so that many villages and parishes became depopulated.

On account of these misfortunes and the hard times which prevailed all over the country, great and general disloyalty was manifested towards the government of the King and towards his person. The lords, who had hitherto been accustomed without restraint to conduct themselves as they pleased, became exceedingly bitter against the King on account of his endeavor to curb their violence and arbitrary conduct. An opposition party sprang into life and did everything to spread false reports abroad and to misrepresent the King as well as the morals and the conduct of the royal family. King Magnus' greatest fault was that he was easily misled by his favorites; time after time he was deceived by his treacherous brother-in-law Albert of Mecklenburg and by his neighbor, the King of Denmark. The King's greatest favorite was a certain Bengt Algotson, whom the King elevated to the rank of Duke of Finland and Halland, and who obtained unbounded influence over him. Eric, the successor to the

throne, became jealous of this royal favorite; the lords did all in their power to inflame his jealousy and in 1356 Eric joined forces with Duke Albert and rose in rebellion against his father, whereupon King Magnus submitted and ceded to King Eric the South Eastern portion of Sweden in addition to Finland, and thereupon he banished the favorite Bengt Algotson. The unscrupulous Valdemar of Denmark, who had formerly encouraged the rebellion of Eric against his father, now pretended to feel sympathy for King Magnus, and thus endeavored to get possession of the province of Scania; but King Magnus made peace with his son and they united to repel the invasion of Valdemar. Before long the young King Eric and his Queen died of the plague, and Magnus became sole King of Sweden in the year 1359.

King Valdemar of Denmark and Albert of Mecklenberg entered into an alliance and suddenly without warning invaded Sweden and by fraud and violence took possession of the provinces of Scania, Bleking, and Southern Halland which thus were united to Denmark in the year 1360. Magnus, abandoned by the lords and threatened by the Pope with excommunication, could not withstand Valdemar, who during this and the following year assailed and invaded Gothland and plundered the rich city of Visby. The lords and influential people of Sweden all threw the blame on the King, although they had done nothing to assist him in struggling against the misfortunes which had befallen his kingdom; they met in council, dethroned him, and declared his younger son, King Hakon of Norway, King of Sweden also, in the year 1362. King Hakon however, refusing to lift a hand against his father

supported him as joint ruler, and the two Kings thereupon united their strength to overthrow the rebellious nobles. In order to accomplish this with success they saw no other means than to enter into an alliance with their former enemy King Valdemar of Denmark. The lords had selected a young Princess to be the Queen of King Hakon; but he declined to abide by their choice and selected Margaret, the eleven year old daughter of King Valdemar, hoping thereby to be able to regain possession of the lost provinces. King Hakon, by taking these steps, had completely aroused the dissatisfied Swedish nobles. These, who had for some time been in conspiracy with King Magnus' faithless brother-in-law, Albert of Mecklenberg, offered the Swedish crown to his second son Albert. The proposition was accepted and supported by several of the German Princes, and the unsuspecting King was suddenly attacked in the year 1363. The City of Stockholm was seized without opposition and Albert was proclaimed King of Sweden at the Ting on the Mora plain in the same year.

Albert, Hakon and Margaret.—A civil war broke out between the different parties in the year 1363, which continued, a few short intervals excepted, for the space of eight years. The two opposing armies met near the City of Enkoping in the summer of 1365. The army of Magnus and Hakon was routed, Magnus being taken prisoner in the battle and conveyed to the citadel at Stockholm. Hakon continued nevertheless to rule over Norway and several adjacent provinces of Sweden. His father-in-law, King Valdemar, seized the Northern part of the province of Halland and Gothland, the island in the Baltic, for the purpose, as he

represented, of assisting his son-in-law, Hakon, but in reality for his own benefit. The German settlers continued to oppress the Swedish people who, finally becoming exasperated, rose in rebellion against them. The Bondes of Svealand issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Southern parts of Sweden calling upon them to rise as one man and make an end of the tyrannical oppression of the foreigners and to install the good and honorable Lord Magnus as King upon their throne. King Hakon of Norway took advantage of this popular rising and advanced with an army as far as Stockholm, which he besieged from the Northern part of the city; this doubtless would have terminated the rule of King Albert had not the Swedish nobility of both parties closed the civil war by a formal declaration of peace at the expense of both the Kings. Albert was declared King of Sweden, but he was compelled to sign a declaration "Konungaforsakran" that he would in all things abide by the advice of the Council of State, which should have power to dispose at its will of all fortifications and other property of the crown, and also to appoint members to fill vacancies in their ranks. This is the first declaration of fealty by the King to the people in Swedish history. Hakon and Magnus were compelled to agree to this peace on very unfavorable terms. Magnus was released from imprisonment but was compelled to pay a large sum of money as ransom and to acknowledge Albert as the King of Sweden. This peace brought about a dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway. Magnus lived with his son a few years in Norway; then he lost his life by shipwreck. The Norwegians felt great sympathy for him and in their an-

nals he is called, "Magnus the Good." In Sweden on the other hand his reputation is the reverse, and there he is known as the "flatterer."

The German nobility and followers of King Albert and more particularly of his father continued for several years to be the real rulers of Sweden and the young King was entirely guided by their counsel and advice; he ceded to them large districts and even provinces which they proceeded to use just as if these were their own property; but the German influence soon diminished and then King Albert became entirely dependent on the wealthy marshal Bo Jonson Grip, the chancellor of state. This powerful man was possessed of enormous wealth and held the whole of Finland and two-thirds of Sweden as security for advances; moreover he did not use his powerful influence for the good of the country, but laid forcible hands upon the property of others contrary to law. He went so far as even to murder one of his enemies at the altar of a church. He, however, was not the only one to act in this lawless manner; the strong and wealthy continued to oppress and ruin the weaker; the bishop of Linkoping himself while on a journey was suddenly attacked and murdered by one of the nobility. Large companies marched through the country committing deeds of violence, and plundering and seizing all the property they could lay hands on. Guerrilla warfare was of daily occurrence. Castles and fortifications sprang up all over the country, and as the nobility continued to crush the people the freedom that had been enjoyed by the bondes and yeomen for centuries seemed on the point of being lost. The vacillating and effeminate King neither could nor

would do anything to put an end to the evil. When the powerful Bo Jonson Grip died in 1386 the King took steps to recover his former power, and attempted to be appointed the guardian and protector of the deceased noble's widow and children for the purpose of obtaining control of the large estate. It is claimed that he even intended to take the property away from them and cause it to revert to the possession of the crown, but Bo Jonson Grip had in his last will and testament appointed ten of the lords of the realm executors of his will and they declined to resign or surrender the property. When they were coerced by King Albert they invoked the assistance of Margaret, the Queen of Denmark and Norway.

Many and great changes had in the meantime taken place in the neighboring kingdoms. King Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark had died in the year 1375; as he left no sons the Danes elected as their King the five year old Olaf, his grandchild, son of his daughter Margaret and King Hakon. During the King's minority his mother, a wise and prudent woman, governed the Kingdom. In 1380 King Hakon of Norway died, greatly lamented by the Norwegians. By right of inheritance the young King Olaf was elected King of Norway, under the guardianship of his mother. King Olaf by right of inheritance had also a claim to the Swedish crown and Margaret made efforts to rescue it for him. Her plans, however, were frustrated when King Olaf suddenly died in the year 1387. With him the old Folkunger line became extinct on the male side, but the power and influence of Margaret were so great that she was elected ruler both by the Danes and Norwegians without opposition.

Margaret was the only person able to assist the Swedish lords against King Albert and his German favorites, so the Swedes saw no other way out of their troubles but to elect her Queen of Sweden, and to secure her favors they found it necessary as well to turn over to her a large portion of the wealth of the deceased marshal, Bo Johnson Grip, and to open the castles to her. Margaret was elected Queen of Sweden in 1388. She had at one stroke come into possession of a large portion of the country. King Albert went over to Germany and soon returned with a German army with which he thought that he would gain an easy victory over Queen Margaret, whom he thoroughly despised. She called out a large force composed of Danes and Norwegians, and the Swedish lords joined her at the head of the Swedish army. The two opposing parties met in the neighborhood of the city of Falkoping, on February 24, 1389. Albert with his German troops was totally defeated and routed, and both he and his son were taken prisoners. This was the first time that the banners of the three Northern kingdoms had been carried by a united army against their enemies and assailants. The foreigners were treated roughly and driven from the country.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CALMAR UNION (Continued)—MARGARET, ERIC, ENGELBERT, CHARLES VIII., CHRISTOPHER.

1388—1448.

Friendly Relations between Sweden, Denmark and Norway—The Germans and the Hansa—Margaret and Eric—Hatte Brothers—Murder of Citizens—Hansa Pirates—Holland—Treaty—Albert Released—Teutonic Knights—Margaret Secures Election of Eric in Norway, then in Sweden and Denmark—Calmar Union 1397—Internal and External Relations—Union Not Ratified by the People—Margaret's Energy—Seizure of the Crown Property—Her Influence on Church and State—Relief of the Lower Classes—Reduces Gothland—King Eric's Partiality to the Danes—Margaret's Death—Eric Sole Ruler—War with Germany—Philippa's Abilities—Peace—Sweden Dissatisfied with Eric—Oppression—Cruelty—Causes leading to the Dissolution of the Union—Engelbert and Charles Knutson—Engelbert's Early Life and Home—His Journey to the King—Demands Relief for the Swedes—No Success—Raises an Army—Drives Out the Danes—Seizes the Treasury—Compels the Council to Dethrone Eric—Marches South—Most of the Country under his Control—Eric Arrives with an Army at Stockholm—Besieged—The Grandees Reconcile Eric and Engelbert—Engelbert Elected Chief Marshal—Riksdag—Negotiations with Eric—Riksdag 1436—Charles Knutson Administrator—Engelbert Murdered—His Character and Success—The Grandees in Power—Puke Executed—Charles Administrator—Eric Dethroned—Christopher—Privileges of the Nobles and Clergy—Hard Times—Lands Law—Christopher's Death 1448.

From the beginning of the Thirteenth century the three Northern kingdoms had entered into close relations, partly through the union between Sweden and Norway, and partly because the Southern provinces of Sweden were under the rule alternately

of Sweden and Denmark; the three peoples had thus by degrees become better acquainted with each other, and national hatred and prejudice gradually disappeared. The wealthy lords of the three countries were in harmony by their social standing as well as by marriage and they made every effort to retain their prestige; the people had also come to a realization of the importance of unity and of helping each other against foreign enemies, and more particularly of resisting the pressure brought to bear by Germany. The German cities on the South of the Baltic, composing what is known as the Hansa, drained all the resources of the north; and the Princes of Mecklenburg and Holstein did all that lay in their power to make themselves rulers of the Northern kingdoms. The people of the North became convinced that the only safeguard against encroachments of German power and influence was a close union among themselves. Margaret at that time was the only person who by her skill, diplomacy, and statesmanship was able to bring about such a result. She was born in Denmark but was educated in Sweden and Norway.

Margaret and Eric of Pomerania.—At the battle of Falkoping the German army of King Albert had been totally defeated, but their courage and resources were by no means exhausted. They were still in possession of several fortified places in Sweden, the strongest of which was Stockholm. They attempted here to strengthen their position by one of the most villainous and murderous acts known in the Swedish annals. An organization was formed among the German merchants and residents in Stockholm known by the name of Hatte brothers. On a preconcerted signal they ap-

peared armed to the teeth, seized the wealthiest of the Swedish burghers, murdered many of them, imprisoned a still larger number, and then set fire to the prison and burned them to death. The Princes of Mecklenburg and the Hansa cities equipped and sent out into the Baltic a large number of pirates who, under the pretense of bringing relief and provisions to Stockholm and saving Albert from imprisonment, made incessant depredations in the Baltic, raiding the country, burning the villages and cities, and murdering the inhabitants. The Northern kingdoms were almost defenseless against these pirates, because, after the cities of the Hansa had become the sole maritime power of the North, the vessels of the Northern kingdoms had been driven from the sea; so these robbers and pirates continued their operations in the Baltic for a period of eight years and finally took possession of the Island of Gothland which became a base for their predatory expeditions. Albert, however, was still kept a prisoner at the castle of Lindholm, so the cities of the Hansa finally succeeded in arranging an armistice on the terms that Albert and his son should be given their liberty on the condition that they should pay Queen Margaret a large sum of money and surrender the city of Stockholm to her, which was done in 1395. German pirates paid no attention to the treaty of peace but continued to make raids until finally the Teutonic Knights of Prussia succeeded in the year 1398 in overpowering and conquering the Island of Gothland and holding it as security for a certain sum of money. The great sufferings which the Hansa pirates had caused the people of the North during the past years had thoroughly convinced them that they

were in need of each other's support, and that harmony among themselves would aid them in strengthening their naval forces as well as in protecting their extensive coasts from any further attacks from people living on the other side of the Baltic. Queen Margaret had for some time past been making every effort to lay the foundation for a closer union between the three kingdoms. In order to accomplish this she concluded that it would be necessary to induce the Scandinavians to agree upon a ruler whom the three kingdoms would recognize; she had already succeeded in the year 1389 in securing recognition for the seven year old Eric of Pomerania, the grand-son of her sister, as heir to the Norwegian throne, though he was not elected and recognized as King of Sweden and Denmark until the year 1396. Her next effort was to call the Council of State of the three kingdoms together for united consultation on the subject of a harmonious government. The united Councils met for the first time in 1395 when they agreed on terms of peace, and it is therefore conceded that the union originated at this meeting. When the young King was to be crowned, Margaret summoned the State Councils and other great lords of the realm from all three kingdoms to a meeting at the city of Calmar in 1397. At this place and time Eric was crowned King, not over each of the kingdoms separately, but over all three kingdoms at the same time, as an evidence that henceforward they were to be in reality a political unit. Margaret desired further, in order to protect the work she had accomplished, that a formal act of union should be adopted by the three kingdoms; so an act of union was prepared at Calmar and signed by several of the promin-

ent lords of the realm of each nation. It contained the provisions that the three kingdoms were henceforth to be united forever as a political whole; they were always to elect their Kings unanimously and to elect one of the sons of the last King, if one existed. In their relations to foreign powers they were to be considered one kingdom, but their home affairs were to be administered according to their own laws. This act is usually called the Calmar-Union, and it was adopted on the 20th of July, 1397. But in point of fact it was only a proposition, which never received legal sanction, as it was not submitted to the people of the three kingdoms and was not even generally known to the public till much later. Margaret's object in bringing about this union was to form the three Northern kingdoms into a great and powerful monarchy, under the guidance of Denmark, which would be strong enough to protect its political and civil liberty against foreign encroachments and to exert its influence among the European nations.

It was really the royal power which was to hold the three kingdoms together and to draw them nearer each other, and to this end Margaret endeavored to extend the limits of the royal power and prerogative. She did not succeed in bringing Denmark and Sweden to adopt a constitution which would make the throne descend by inheritance in the same line: she did, however, succeed in reducing the power and influence of the Council of State, and made no appointments to the vacant offices of chancellor and marshal. She constantly traveled through her dominions and watched carefully over the officers and judges and saw to it that justice was administered according to existing laws;

she also curbed the restless and violent classes, particularly the aristocrats, who had become accustomed by this time to oppress the less fortunate in the community; she further caused the property of the crown, which had under one pretext and another come into the possession of the grandees and nobility, to again revert to the government. It was at the parliament in Nykoping in 1396 that the Swedish lords were compelled to yield to her demand that all crown property which the temporal and spiritual lords had taken possession of since the year 1363 should forthwith be returned to the possession of the crown, and that all castles and fortifications which had in the meantime been erected and were in their possession should be demolished and razed to the ground, and that no further freedom from taxes and other burdens should be allowed; the resolution thus adopted was immediately put into execution and large tracts of land in the possession of the nobility and the church were seized and the income of the crown was hereby greatly augmented.

All these important steps for the improvement of the government were executed with thoroughness and without mishaps, for Margaret, having an unusual knowledge of the people of her three kingdoms, understood how to suit herself to their several dispositions, and succeeded in influencing the powerful men of her time to yield to her wishes without antagonizing them; she was at the same time a devoted daughter of the church and yet determined that the latter should behave justly to the governments which protected her organization from the rapacity of the grandees.

The common people she endeavored to please, and

when they complained of the heavy burdens of taxation she pleaded with them to have patience, and made excuses that the times were hard and that her own interests were at stake. The condition of the farmers was really much improved; the poorer people received justice swiftly and without partiality, and the reversion of the crown property to the Sovereign greatly ameliorated the lot of the common people who had been oppressed and robbed of everything they had by the privileged classes. However, the Swedes were not so well pleased with Margaret as the Danes, for whom she showed a special partiality and preference.

During her last years Margaret was occupied with plans for the recovery of those parts of the North which had been lost during the late wars, viz: the islands of Gothland and Schleswig. First she sent an army over to Gothland only to be surprised and surrounded by the more powerful army of the defenders which drove the invaders away, but at last she succeeded in negotiating with Albert and the Teutonic Knights, who, in return for a large sum of money, surrendered their claims to the island, which was given up to King Eric in 1406. Eric filled all the offices on the island with Danish officials, although Sweden had paid the ransom for its release, and his action resulted in considerable ill-will against the Danes.

King Eric began at this time to take a more active part in the government, though he was quite unfit for the high position in which he was placed, being selfish, irritable, and narrow minded. Queen Margaret had endeavored to win Schleswig from the Holstein Dukes in a peaceable manner, but through the unwise policy of Eric a war broke out in 1410 which, with the excep-

tion of short intermissions, continued for twenty-five years. Margaret prepared for a journey to meet the belligerents at Flensborg for the purpose of reconciling them, and if possible bringing about a peace, but just as she was ready to leave she died suddenly on the vessel in the year 1412.

King Eric who had now become sole ruler over the North refused to listen to counsel and pursued his war against the people of Holstein. Although he was lord over three kingdoms he conducted the war so poorly that he was unable to drive the Germans from Schleswig. His reverses became still greater when Holstein received aid from the cities of the Hansa who were joined by the powerful city of Lubeck in 1426. Eric instead of pursuing an offensive war was now compelled to assume a defensive attitude. His wise and courageous Queen, Philippa of England, daughter of Henry IV. of Lancaster, was his best support during this time; it was she who governed his kingdoms and prosecuted the war during the time that Eric made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Hanseatic league made an attack on Copenhagen, but by her courage and daring the Queen gained a decisive victory. The Swedish fleet, which had been called to the Sound, was scattered by a storm and many vessels were wrecked; she spared no efforts in the work of rescue and in assisting to send them home again. Later on she made a visit to the cloister of Vadstena where she enrolled herself as a sister, as Queen Margaret had done before her, and here she died suddenly during her stay. The war which had been prosecuted for a long time and conducted with great energy was at last concluded by a formal treaty of peace. The Dukes of Holstein re-

mained in possession of Schleswig, and the cities of the Hanseatic league retained their former privileges in the North.

This long and disastrous war which had been conducted so unfortunately caused a great deal of dissatisfaction in the North. In Sweden, however, the dissatisfaction with Eric's government was greater than in the other kingdoms on account of the indifference shown to the people in home affairs. The country was oppressed by heavy taxes and constant levies for the war which were enforced in an unreasonably cruel manner into the bargain. The war with the cities of the Hansa had caused a rupture of commercial relations, panic, and hard times. The church and clergy showed great discontent with King Eric on account of his appointments of unsuitable and unworthy bishops. He created as archbishop of Upsala a person entirely unfit for such an exalted position, and who had to be suspended on account of his immoral and disreputable life. The King seldom visited Sweden and Norway and did not even appoint a regular government in these countries; the administration of justice was neglected; no superintendence was kept up over the officials, the collectors of taxes, and the powerful and wealthy, but they were permitted to oppress the community and seize upon the property of their subordinates without any likelihood of being called to account; the bondes were almost reduced to slavery, and if they complained were deprived of their personal liberty; the crown officers, who were mostly foreigners, robbed and plundered them in every possible way. A Dane by the name of Jesse Ericson, who had been appointed overseer over the provinces of Dalarne and

Westmanland, had the reputation of being the worst of them all; it is related concerning him that after he had first taken all the horses and cattle from the peasants he compelled them to plough his land themselves and thereafter he hung five of them in smoke. Such cruelty as this in the long run became unendurable. The people in their exasperation turned not only against the officials but also against Denmark and the Union; it was this inhuman treatment that finally undermined the Union wrought by Margaret.

Engelbert and Charles Knutson.—A little to the North of the centre of Sweden, hidden in a beautiful valley and surrounded by mountains covered with forests, lies an inland lake called Siljan, the source of the river Dale. The mountains are rich in iron and copper ores, and the people who lived among them had for ages past been famous for their love of liberty, their honesty, and their integrity. Their living had been earned by honest toil and effort, partly in the forests and partly in the iron and copper mines which they had been working for generations, and they had, to a greater extent than the people of the surrounding provinces, preserved their old Northern customs, simplicity, and self government. Up to this time this province had been little known in the history of Sweden, but during this period it suddenly appeared as the deliverer of Sweden from its foreign oppressors. Not far from one of the copper mines there lived a man called Engelbert Engelbertson, who claimed descent from a clan that had always given men of mark to the community. In appearance he was insignificant; in stature small; but he was intelligent, courageous, prudent, and a fine speaker, while a noble Swedish

heart beat in his bosom. The people of the province had for a long time been suffering from oppression at the hands of the royal bailiffs and at last in their extremity they turned to this Engelbert and elected him their spokesman. Accordingly, in company with several of them, he made a journey to see the King, who held court in Denmark, and presented their complaints to him with courage and earnestness. But although the Swedish Council of State concurred in Engelbert's representations and in the truth of his and the people's complaint against the royal official, Jesse Ericson, the King was not on that account persuaded to remove him but allowed him to persist in his violent and unlawful conduct. Engelbert made a second journey and laid further complaints before the King, who, far from promising relief, gave orders that if the petitioner appeared before him again he was to be arrested and imprisoned. When Engelbert had returned to his province he told the Dalcarlar what had befallen him in the presence of the King and how the latter had threatened that if the people persisted in making complaints their sufferings would only be increased. Thereupon they prepared to enforce their rights, and after electing Engelbert their chief and arming themselves marched to the city of Vesteras, where Jesse was living. On two different occasions when the Dalcarlar were marching Southward to enforce their rights and seek relief the councillors of state met them and persuaded them to return by promises of redress; but when the Dalcarlar at last became convinced that they were being put off with idle words they set out for the third time about midsummer

1434, fully determined not to return until they had driven the foreign oppressors from the country.

Their first success was the seizure and destruction of a fortress occupied by one of these royal officials, called Borganas, on the river Dale; this was taken by storm and razed to the ground. Thence they moved to Vesteras and continued their march as far as Upsala where Engelbert addressed the assembled communities and ordered one-third of the taxes to be remitted, and here he issued a proclamation which was sent to all the different provinces of Sweden, advising them to rise and throw off the yoke of their foreign oppressors. He found an active associate in Eric Puke, a brave man skilled in military manoeuvres, who placed himself at the head of a large number of Norlanders and Finns, destroyed all the strongholds and drove the royal officers out.

A body of men from Sodermanland attacked the citadel of Gripsholm and took it it by storm. From every direction armed yeomen flocked to the standard of Engelbert, who advanced on Stockholm and after some negotiations entered into an armistice with Hans Kroplin, the mayor and commander of the town, after which he advanced Southward through Sodermanland into East Gothland. Here information reached him that the Council of State was assembled in conference at the City of Vadstena. Accompanied by a large following of his army he marched thither to meet them, and addressing them in words of fervid and impassioned eloquence, vividly depicted the oppressions and sufferings of the people and besought his hearers to save the country from its foreign oppressors, finally demanding that the Council should take

action by dethroning the King and refusing him any further obedience. This the Council refused to do, whereupon Engelbert with some of his followers seized the startled and terrified officials and threatened to throw them out of the window to the people assembled below.

At this they became so alarmed that they immediately consented to forswear allegiance to the King; and Engelbert drew up a declaration to this effect which they were all made to sign. This being done Engelbert marched Southward with his army and drove all the foreigners out of East Gothland and Smaland. The people of the province of Vermland also rose and drove the royal officers from their province. Engelbert marched with a large army through West Gothland as far as Scania, with the people of which province he entered into an alliance. He was then in possession of the whole country except Stockholm and a few scattered fortifications. This work of deliverance from foreign oppression had been accomplished within less than four months, and the powerful army of bondes had marched through the country in such good order and with such excellent military discipline that no complaint was made of their having caused trouble to anyone.

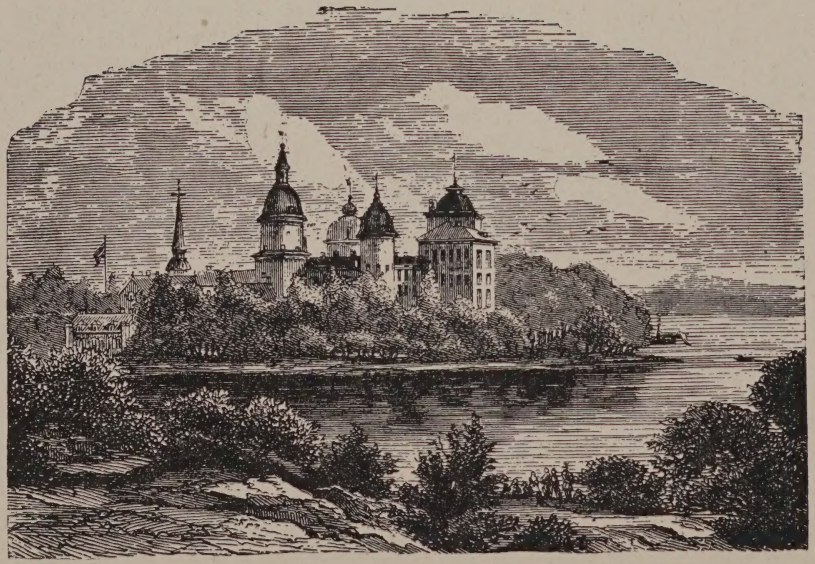
Engelbert had already dismissed his followers when King Eric arrived at Stockholm with his army. The popular leader immediately called all his supporters to arms and began to lay siege to Stockholm, but the powerful lords of the kingdom succeeded in arbitrating between the contending armies and in bringing about an armistice by which the King was allowed to take his departure. A Council of State or Riksdag

at which the distinguished nobles and the bondes were present met at Arboga and elected Engelbert Chief Marshal or Commander of the government, in January, 1435. This is the first Riksdag in Sweden concerning which it is definitely known that the burghers, as well as the bondes or yeomen, attended and took an active part in its deliberations since the time of the Christianizing of the country which made an end of the Alsharjar Ting on Mora stone, at Upsala. The friends of the King did their best to bring about a reconciliation between him and the Swedes and held a great many meetings and councils for this purpose. Finally Eric attended a Riksdag in Stockholm in the fall of 1435 and was again recognized as King by the Council of State on the condition that he promise to rule the country according to law and appoint none but native Swedes to any office or to the command of any fortifications or citadels. The King appointed Christian Nilson Vasa chancellor and Charles Knutson Bonde marshal, both of them men of great influence, wealth, and prestige. But he did not keep the promises he had made to the people; on the contrary, in taking his departure, he passed through the country, plundering the inhabitants and seizing and carrying away all property he could lay his hands on.

All forbearance was now at an end and popular exasperation obliged the Council to call the representatives of the people to attend a general Riksdag at Arboga in January 1436, at which the Swedes declared King Eric to have forfeited their allegiance, saying that henceforward they would neither obey nor recognize him. The lords, who were jealous of the popular and successful Engelbert, for they claimed that he

was of lower origin than themselves, plotted to elect a new chief marshal and succeeded in electing Charles Knutson. But when Engelbert and the people at large showed dissatisfaction with the election it was agreed that the government should be exercised jointly by Engelbert and Charles and that the latter should continue the siege of Stockholm whilst Engelbert should march with a picked army through the country and depose all the newly appointed officials of the King. He led his army along the Eastern coast of Sweden, took possession of all the fortifications, conquered the provinces of Bleking and Halland, returned along the western coast and laid siege to the castle of Axevalla in West Gothland; he was there attacked by a violent sickness which compelled him to sail for the city of Orebro where his landed estate was situated. The Council of State, however, had summoned him to Stockholm, so he entered a vessel in order to cross over Lake Hjalmaren; a heavy storm arose and the ship was compelled to lay to over night at a small island which is yet called Engelbert Island. Near the place where they landed was an estate belonging to the councillor of state Bengt Stenson with whom Engelbert had quarreled, but to whom he had been reconciled. Engelbert and his few followers noticed a small boat coming towards the island, but thought it was some person coming on a friendly visit. He proceeded down to the shore, walking on crutches, in order to welcome his visitors. Mans, the son of Bengt Stenson, a wild and violent young man, jumped out of the boat, and rushed at Engelbert with uplifted axe, and attacking him savagely cut his head open and afterwards shot him several times with arrows. After murdering

ENGELBERT.



ENGELBERT ISLE.

Engelbert, Bengtson took his wife and companions prisoners. This unprovoked and cold-blooded murder took place on the 27th of April, 1436. Engelbert's companions-in-arms among the common people visited the island, took the remains of the beloved chief away, and laid them to rest amid heartfelt expressions of devotion and sympathy.

Engelbert had in a short time accomplished great things; and he is justly considered one of the greatest figures among the Swedes of the middle ages. For less than three years he had played a part on the public stage, yet he accomplished a work unparalleled in Swedish annals. He gave to the people their former freedom and independence and awoke to new life the slumbering national sentiment by uniting all the different provinces together as one man for the salvation of a common country. It was he who called the burghers from the cities and the free landholders from the country to the general Riksdag. From this time onwards we do not find independent separate provinces but a nationalized Sweden.

After the death of this great Bonde chief, the wealthy lords began to show their hands again. The people had been roused to a realization of their rights and privileges and henceforth took a more active part in the affairs of state, so the lords endeavored to turn this awakened energy to their own benefit, by making use of it to restrict the influence of the lower classes as well as as of the King, but they could not agree among themselves. It had been agreed that the chancellor and the marshal were to govern the country jointly and in harmony, but the young and ambitious Charles Knutson seized the reins of govern-

ment, and took the murderer of Engelbert under his protection, an act which exasperated the many friends of the hero and the people at large. Eric Puke, the former friend of Engelbert, stood at the head of the popular party. He plotted against Charles and succeeded in raising a popular revolt against him, but was eventually arrested, tried as a traitor, and executed. The chancellor, Christian Nilson Vasa and his party conspired to again restore Eric to the throne. Several meetings were held at his instance and negotiations were conducted steadily to this end. A new proposition was even brought forward to unite the three kingdoms under one sceptre; but Eric, by his selfishness and egotism, thwarted every effort of his followers. The marshal, Charles Knutson, was at last in 1438 elected administrator, a title now for the first time met with in Swedish history. The old chancellor, who had again plotted to bring King Eric to Sweden, was at last secretly taken prisoner and banished to Viborg. In the year 1439 King Eric was formally dethroned at a Riksdag held at Telge; and on account of his misrule he had already forfeited all sympathy in Denmark and Norway and his subjects soon tired of him. The bondes of Norway rose against him and were only quieted by his yielding to the popular demands, while he met with so much opposition in Denmark that he at last lost his temper, abandoned the country and fled to Gothland where he took possession of the castle of Visborg. In Denmark as well as in Sweden the government was now in the hands of the Council of State; and the Danes elected Christopher of Bavaria, (Eric's nephew) King of Denmark and Eric was formally dethroned in 1439.

Christopher of Bavaria.—After King Eric had been dethroned the party who favored the union of Calmar became predominant under the leadership of the bishops. This party succeeded in persuading Charles Knutson to resign his position as administrator, which he did on receiving Finland and the island of Oland as his duchy in addition to a release for all accountability as administrator. Christopher, having been previously elected King of Denmark, was elected King of Sweden, by the Swedish Council in the year 1440. The latter on this occasion took advantage of the dependence of the newly elected King upon the magnates to demand from him a written declaration confirming all the privileges of the nobility and of the clergy. He took the oath and bound himself to abide by the decision and to govern the realm according to the advice of the Council; none but native born Swedes were to be appointed to government offices, and the Island of Gothland was to be restored to Sweden. Only after these preliminaries had been settled did Christopher come to Sweden. He entered Stockholm side by side with Charles and was thereupon crowned King of Sweden with great pomp and ceremony. Christopher in personal appearance was small and insignificant of stature, fond of pleasure, good natured and of a happy disposition, and was liked by the great lords and the Council because he yielded in all things to their wishes. He was not so well liked by the common people. During his reign there were hard times in the country, the crops failed and famine prevailed, living became expensive and distress was general; there was not sufficient grain to support the people but they were compelled to mix

tree bark with meal to make their bread, wherefore they called Christopher, "The Bark King." On account of the hard times in Denmark the peasants rose in rebellion and it was only at the head of a large army that the King succeeded in suppressing it, which he did with great vigor. After this suppression the peasants of Denmark lost all their former political privileges, and in some parts of Denmark, as for instance on Zealand and some of the small islands, they were reduced to serfdom and were considered the personal property of the nobility.

King Christopher accomplished very little for the welfare of his kingdoms. There are, however, two acts which have preserved his memory for future ages; one was that he removed the capital from Roskilde to Copenhagen, which has since remained the capital of Denmark. The other was, that during his reign, in the year 1442 the general laws of Sweden were in some respects revised and received royal sanction. Under the title of King Christopher's lands-law this law continued to be the law of Sweden until the year 1736. He had promised to restore Gothland to Sweden, a promise which he never fulfilled, but allowed his uncle, the dethroned King Eric, to remain in possession of the Island. It is true he sent over a Swedish army which landed there, but he took no further steps than to have a friendly conference with the old King, and thereupon returned to Sweden. Christopher did, however, make a strenuous effort to deliver the North from the arrogant and domineering combinations of the merchants of the Hansa league. The People of Lubeck fearing an assault by him on their city made active preparation for its defense, but their fear was soon allayed by his sudden death in the year 1448.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES VIII. KNUTSON, CHRISTIAN I., HANS OR JOHN II.

1448—1513.

Bengt and Nils Oxenstjerna Administrators—Union Party and Opposition—Charles' Return from Finland—Elected King 1448—Christian I. Elected King of Denmark—Charles and Christian I. at War—Charles, King of Norway—Swedish Lords Arbitrate away Norway—Charles Invades Scania—Danes Defeated in East Gothland and West Gothland—Murder of Marshal Bonde—Archbishop's Revolt against Charles—Flees to Dantzig—Archbishop and Tott Administrators—Christian I. King—Heavy Taxation—Archbishop's Policy—His Arrest and Transportation 1463—His Relatives Revolt—Christian Deposed—Charles Returns as King—Archbishop Released—Attacks Charles who Leaves for Finland—Vasa Administrator—Oxenstjerna Administrator—Nils Sture—Tott Administrator—Flees to Denmark—Charles Third time King—His Death—Sten Sture Administrator—Christian at Stockholm—Danes Defeated at Battle of Brunkeberg—Sture's Wise Government—Upsala University Founded 1477—Christian's Indifference to His Subjects—Hans, or John II, King of Denmark and Sweden—Calmar Recess 1483—Terms of Agreement between the Grandees for the Union—Height of Aristocratic Power in Sweden—Civil War—Hans King of Sweden—His War in Ditmarschen—Defeat—Hemming Gad—Sten Sture Administrator—His Death—Swante Sture Administrator—His Character—Gad His Assistant—Death of Sture—Sten Sture Administrator—Hans' Death.

Charles Knutson and Christian I.—When the Swedish Council was informed of the death of Christopher they elected two brothers, Bengt and Nils Oxenstjerna, joint administrators of the kingdom; and shortly afterwards, when the archbishopric became vacant, Jesse

the son of Bengt Oxenstjerna was elected primate, an ambitious, passionate and disagreeable man, who at once became the leader of the party of the Union. To this party several of the wealthy and distinguished noble families belonged, such as Oxenstjerna and Vasa, as well as most of the prelates. The opposite party, led principally by the wealthy family of Bonde, and supported mainly by the common people, were working for a dissolution of the Union and wanted a separate King for Sweden and entire independence for the kingdom. The Estates were called to Riksdag at Stockholm in 1448 to elect a King. Accompanied by eight hundred cavaliers and their followers, Charles Knutson hastened from Finland to Stockholm. His handsome presence and noble ancestry coupled with a gracious demeanour and liberal views soon made him a favorite with the people, and when the election took place it was found that he had received a majority of the votes. He was declared and was crowned King of Sweden in 1448. The Danes shortly after elected Christian of Oldenburg King of Denmark; he married the former King's widow, Dorothea of Brandenburg, and from him the royal house of Oldenburg is descended.

After a space of sixty years Denmark and Sweden had now separate Kings; and as both were ambitious for ascendancy it was clearly to be seen that a conflict was at hand, for there was no lack of pretexts, seeing that both claimed Gothland as well as the crown of Norway. Charles sent an army to Gothland which overran the island and laid siege to the castle of Visborg where King Eric was still residing. In his need the latter called upon the Danes for assistance; help

soon arrived, and the Swedish General Magnus Gren, who had not taken adequate precautions, was surprised and compelled to leave the island in 1449. Eric surrendered the island to the Danes and moved to his Pomeranian possessions where he died shortly after.

Two different parties had sprung up in Norway after the death of Christopher; one favored King Christian, and the other, with Archbishop Aslak Bolt at its head, desired the Swedish King Charles. The people at large favored the latter, who also visited Norway and was elected King at the Norwegian Landsting and crowned by the archbishop at Trondhjem in the year 1449. A proclamation was issued in the name of the people which among other things contained the declaration that "These two kingdoms, Sweden and Norway, which God has thus geographically united, shall hereafter never be separated." Nevertheless they were separated in less than a year. The two Kings came to an agreement that they should submit their dispute to the arbitration of twelve Swedish and twelve Danish councillors at a meeting in the city of Halmstad. The Swedish lords, who were jealous of and ill-disposed towards Charles, yielded and decided that he should surrender the crown to King Christian; and when they were supported by the other lords of the Swedish realm, he was compelled against his better judgment to comply with their demands and to resign all claims on Norway. Christian was now elected King of Norway and as such crowned in 1450.

It was not long before the warlike King Christian commenced new attacks on Charles. The latter determined to take the offensive at once, so he organized a

large army supported by four thousand cavalry, and a well equipped artillery with twenty guns and invaded Scania during the winter of 1452 conquering one place after the other, pillaging the country and the cities, and more particularly the city of Lund, which at that time was one of the largest cities of southern Sweden and which numbered as many as twenty-four churches and cloisters. Charles at this time obtained the advantage, though in the following spring the Danes made an attack on Sweden both by land and by sea. The Danish fleet was repelled. The bondes gathered from the province of East Gothland and led by their lawman met the advance columns of the Danes, suddenly attacked them, and gained a complete victory in the forest of Holaved. Tord Bonde, nephew of King Charles, and a warlike and chivalrous young man, advanced with another column of the Swedish army, attacked the enemy and drove them out of West Gothland. Thus victory attended the Swedish arms and peace reigned for two years. Then war broke out again; Tord Bonde was appointed marshal of all the armies, fought victoriously against the enemy, advanced Southward and penetrated through the province of Bohus. As the enemy were unsuccessful in the open field they contrived to bribe one of the marshal's attendants to murder him in his sleep in the year 1456. In him King Charles lost his ablest general and with him his good fortune also seemed to have disappeared.

King Charles was indeed a good and well meaning King, but he did not possess sufficient wisdom to gain his opponents' good will in a friendly manner,

nor did he possess power sufficient to crush them; time and again the archbishop plotted with the party of union to dethrone Charles, but he did not venture to punish them in such a way as to guard himself against future treachery. While the King was in the field with his army advancing against the enemy the archbishop incited a revolt. He appeared before the altar in the Cathedral of Upsala where he divested himself of his miter and the insignia of his office and took an oath that he would not put them on again until there had been a change in the government of Sweden; whereupon he put on his armor, seized his sword, and took command of the rebel troops. The King who had been informed of the rebellion hastened at the head of his army to encounter the archbishop, but he was suddenly surprised by him during the night and attacked at the city of Strengnas and was wounded. He succeeded, however, in escaping to Stockholm; and as he did not feel safe from treachery even there he gathered all his movable property together and took ship for the city of Dantzig in 1457.

The rebellious army, having gained an easy victory, elected the archbishop and Eric Tott administrators of the realm and thereupon invited King Christian I. to Sweden; he accepted their invitation and soon came thither, where he was in the usual manner proclaimed and crowned King. The union between the three kingdoms was again restored, although contrary to the wishes of the people. The first years of Christian's reign were peaceful and happy, though the King gave little attention to the government of his kingdom, as other matters of importance in the southern part of his realm engrossed his attention. The family of the

Dukes of Holstein, which had held possession of Schlesvig, had become extinct. The duchy by right ought now to have become a province of Denmark, but Christian neglected the welfare of his kingdoms for the sake of some uncertain advantages which in the future did him little good; in order to gain control of Holstein, to which he had no right, he continued, against the wishes of the people, to allow the union between Holstein and Schlesvig to exist and caused himself to be elected Duke of Schlesvig and Count of Holstein in 1460. The result was that Danish Schlesvig was made one with German Holstein and thereby became Germanized, for a large number of the German nobility as well as burghers and merchants moved into the Danish province.

Christian had to pay dearly for the ducal crown of Holstein. He was compelled to satisfy the claims of those who had a primary right to the country with large sums of money, a proceeding which left him heavily in debt. Henceforward he was always hard pressed for money and was compelled to avail himself of any expedient in order to satisfy his creditors; he made large loans, and oppressed the people with heavy taxes, so that they gave him the nickname of "The Bottomless Bag," until finally, tired of his constant and unreasonable taxation and other oppressions, they refused to pay the tax collectors. The King was at this time on a crusade in Finland against the Russians, and the archbishop was governing in Sweden. Influenced by the constant complaints and representations of the people the latter at last yielded and remitted part of the taxes. On his return the King was dissatisfied with the conduct of the archbishop,

and a dispute which arose between them terminated in the archbishop being arrested and brought a prisoner to Denmark in the year 1463.

Such unjust and barbarous treatment of the archbishop by the King exasperated the friends of the former, related as he was to the wealthy and influential families of the nobility, Oxenstjerna and Vasa. His nephew, the daring and courageous Bishop Kettil Vasa of the diocese of Linkoping, raised the standard of rebellion and called the people to arms against the King, being immediately elected administrator of the kingdom.

Christian, as soon as he heard of the rebellion, hastened with his army from Denmark and advanced against the bishop's forces. He had come no further than the forest of Westmanland, when he unexpectedly met the Swedish army commanded by Bishop Kettil and Sten Sture; the Danes were received with a shower of stones and arrows, and after a short and decisive battle gave way and were pursued by the Swedish army as far as Stockholm. A general demand for the return of King Charles was now made by the Swedish army, and the lords consented on the condition that the past be forgotten. King Charles returned in the summer of 1464 and was a second time recognized as King; but the joy of his return was not destined to last, for he soon fell into a dispute with Bishop Kettil and King Christian, who, becoming reconciled to the archbishop, released him from prison. Returning to Sweden the archbishop collected his supporters and advanced against King Charles and besieged him in Stockholm; the King was reduced to extremity and

in January, 1468, was forced to resign the crown and to become simply governor of Finland. Accordingly he left Sweden and lived at his estate in Finland for a few years in quietude and straitened circumstances.

After the second fall of King Charles the Swedish lords elected Bishop Kettil Vasa administrator, who died the same year. As his successor they elected Archbishop Jesse Oxenstjerna, who thereupon became still more arrogant and despotic than in the past, and assumed the title, "We Jesse, by the grace of God, archbishop at Upsala, primate of Sweden and administrator of the kingdom." The temporal lords, however, soon tired of his despotic government. The first one to raise the standard of rebellion against him was Count Nils Bosson, (who had adopted the name of Sture, belonging to his mother's family) a friend and relative of King Charles; and the powerful Totts joined in the revolt. They had formerly been closely identified with the party of the Calmar Union; influenced by inter-marriage with families who did not favor the Union as well as by their individual interests, they now joined the party of Charles. Eric Tott was finally elected administrator in the place of the archbishop. This was the signal for an open struggle between the two parties, one led by the Totts and the Stures, the other by the archbishop and Eric Vasa, a brother of Bishop Kettil, who received support from Denmark. At first the Swedish national party was victorious and the archbishop was compelled to flee to Denmark, where he shortly afterwards died. King Charles was now elected King of Sweden in 1467 for the third time. After a peace that lasted for about two years civil

war broke out and the whole country was involved in internal strife. The daring Eric Vasa gathered together a large army of bondes and advanced against King Charles and met him in open battle. As the result of several decisive battles King Charles and his army were conquered. Eric Vasa, elated by his success over the King, invaded the Province of Dalarne to attack the Stures; they went out to meet him and in a pitched battle the army of Dalarne was victorious and completely routed the invaders who fled, Vasa himself escaping to Denmark. Another attempt on the part of the Danes to invade Sweden resulted in their utter defeat and in 1470 in the midst of this civil war King Charles' stormy and eventful life closed.

Sten Sture, Sr., and Christian I.—King Charles before his death nominated Sten Sture as the most suitable person to govern the kingdom after him, and it is said furthermore, that he warned Sture not to aspire to the crown. The party favoring the Union made strenuous efforts to remove him, but, secure in the support of the Dalcarlar and the powerful Totts, he was elected the same year and in the following year in a Riksdag at Arboga recognized as the administrator of the kingdom. King Christian I. of Denmark now determined that he would, if possible, regain the crown of Sweden; he therefore made great preparations for war; and with a large fleet embarked his army for Stockholm. At first he sought to accomplish his purpose and be elected King by friendly negotiations. The Council of State, as well as the Archbishop Jacob Ulf, detained him with idle conferences, during which time the Stures were able to organize an army among the people. At last the Danes landed, forti-

fied themselves on one of the hills north of the city and began to lay siege to Stockholm; in the meantime Nils Sture with his army from Dalarne had succeeded in effecting a junction with Sten Sture who commanded the bondes from the Southern provinces, and now the whole Swedish army advanced against the Danes; singing and shouting and encouraging one another, they marched onward under the command of the administrator himself to scale the mountains on which the Danish army was entrenched, whilst Nils Sture with his army made a detour and attacked the enemy in the flank. The burghers of the City of Stockholm under the command of Knut Posse made a sally from the gates of the city. Upon the roofs of its houses the inhabitants awaited the issue of the conflict with hope and anxiety. On two different occasions the Swedes were seen to storm the Danish fortifications and to plant their standard on the top of the mountain, and on two different occasions they were seen to yield to the superior discipline of the Danes. Failing to take possession of the heights the Swedish army was thrown against the Danish division, which was halted at the foot of the mountains where the church of St. Clara is now located. Seeing this the Danes rushed down from above to assist their companions in arms, and a desperate struggle ensued. The Swedes got the upper hand, and just as the Danes began to yield Nils Sture with his army of Dalcarlar reached the field of battle and completed the victory. A third attack was made on the Danish fortifications, in which the King was wounded and taken to the rear of his army; the Danes fled in confusion and their standard fell into the hands of the Swedes. It had been taken at

the sacrifice of over five hundred of the Danish nobility who lost their lives in this battle. The number of killed, wounded, and prisoners was great, besides which many of the enemy were drowned in trying to escape to their vessels. This glorious victory on the mountain called Brunkeberg, which was won on October 10, 1471, resulted in a complete victory over the Danes, who were driven from the country and who thereafter for twenty-five years left Sweden in peace.

The battle of Brunkeberg was followed by ten years of domestic peace, happiness, and prosperity, during which the country was enabled to recover its normal condition after the many internal disputes, struggles, and dissensions. Sten Sture conducted the government with wisdom and prudence and succeeded for some time in pacifying the different parties by his statesmanship and his own personal superiority. At the beginning of his administration he was on friendly terms with the most powerful men of the realm, such as the archbishop, the Totts, and the Stures, but in reality he was a man of the people and supported by them; he enjoyed the complete confidence of the common people, looked after their interests, and was in close communion and sympathy with them, took council with them at their general assemblies and visited them in their homes. To the cities and the mercantile classes he granted privileges and defended them against the insolence and overbearing demands of the Dutch. The latter, who had previously controlled the cities, enjoyed the privilege of electing half of the councilmen, but this law was repealed shortly after the battle won at Stockholm. He encouraged education and exerted a civilizing influence on the com-

munity. By his foresight and that of the archbishop a charter was granted by the Pope for the establishment of a university at Upsala, which was founded and dedicated in the year 1477. Its growth and development were slow and it was not until one hundred years later that the university arrived at a status worthy of the first university of the North. It was about this time that printing was invented and introduced, and the first book was printed in Sweden.

The union between the three kingdoms was still under consideration and constant negotiations went on for its restoration. The Swedes declined to take an active and enthusiastic part in the matter. There was nothing in the government of King Christian I. of Denmark and Norway that was encouraging for the Swedes. Several of the islands, such as Shetland and Orkney, which up to this time had been part of Norway, were lost during his reign. The unreasonable demands and frequent violence of the Hanseatic League, including the burning of a cloister, the murder of a bishop, and the assassination of other prominent men in Norway, were allowed to go unpunished. Although Christian was in constant want of money, and though he could not help being aware of the commercial distress and the sufferings of his people, he kept an extravagant court, and made frequent expensive journeys to other countries. The only good that he can be said to have accomplished on these travels was when he succeeded in obtaining a charter from the pope for the erection of a university at Copenhagen, which was founded in the year 1479.

Sten Sture, Sr., and King Hans, also Known as John II.—There were born to King Christian I. and

Queen Dorothea two sons, Hans and Frederik. When Christian died in 1481 his two sons divided the government of Schlesvig and Holstein between them, but Hans, being the older, was elected King of Denmark. In Norway, however, there was great opposition to him on the part of the powerful clergy, who were unfriendly towards Denmark, and the Norwegians sought assistance from Sten Sture; but when the Norwegians were left without the support of Sweden they were not able long to resist the influence of Denmark and Hans was elected King of Norway. On this occasion Hans was not declared the elected King until he had heedlessly signed a declaration of rights, which greatly extended the privileges of the lords and diminished the prerogatives of the King. Negotiations had been in progress between Denmark and Sweden from the battle of Brunkeberg to the death of Christian, and although often broken off without issue, they resulted, shortly after the latter event, in a renewal of the Union by the treaty of Calmar in 1483 called, "Calmar Recess." The conditions on which Hans, or John II. as he is commonly called, now received the crown of Sweden, sufficiently evinced by what interests the Union was really upheld. After a solemn recognition of all the privileges of the church, the plenipotentiaries of the three kingdoms agreed upon the the following, among other terms of settlement.

1. The King, who was to be guided generally by the Council, and was to reside one year in each of the kingdoms alternately, was to conduct the government through good men, natives of the country, not setting over the people persons of mean birth; in the distri-

bution of castles and fiefs, he was bound to have regard to the opinion of those members of his Council who resided in the district in which the appointment was to be made.

2. The Council was to be composed of nobles of the realm, and as many of the clergy as should be found necessary; no new member was to be received without the consent of the rest, and everyone who separated himself from his colleagues was to be expelled in disgrace; the keys of the register and treasury of each kingdom were to be committed to four councillors, who were bound to account for them and to be responsible for their safe custody.

3. The King was precluded from buying any noble's estate, or acquiring a mortgage on it; on the other hand, a nobleman might hold crown estates in pledge without service or burden; the nobility had full liberty to fortify their houses, and might refuse the King access to them, while they were allowed to afford an asylum to those who had incurred the royal displeasure.

4. It is laid down that every good man, whether of the clergy or laity, should be King over his own peasants excepting in such cases as concerned the rights of the sovereign. "And though these were hard terms, yet King Hans promised with oath, letter, and seal, that he would hold by them."

If the King violated his oath and acted contrary to the foregoing treaty the Swedes were absolved from their oath of allegiance and had a right to resist him in full armor.

The Calmar Recess of 1483 marks the highest point of aristocratic power in Sweden and shows the end

towards which the efforts of the nobles were directed. They bartered the throne and the people for any privileges they could secure from a foreign King. The retribution was close at hand for their perfidy.

Although Sten Sture had been present and taken part in the negotiations at Calmar for a union between the Kingdoms, he managed during the fourteen years succeeding to prevent the accomplishment of the treaty as entered into. On this account as well as for other reasons he soon awakened the enmity of several of the most influential lords temporal and spiritual and more particularly of Archbishop Ivar Tott and others. The archbishop, who owned the islands of Gothland and Oland and several castles and provinces throughout the country, encouraged piracy along the coasts of Sweden and defied the administrator.

Finally the dispute broke out into open war, and Sten Sture took possession of all the castles and other strongholds of the archbishop except Gothland, which the archbishop in the year 1487 surrendered to King Hans, thus anticipating the administrator. Friendly relations between Sten Sture and King Hans could now no longer exist on account of their conflicting interests. Disputes and recrimination began between the administrator and the Swedish Council and in addition to these internal troubles the war between Russia and Sweden finally led to an open rebellion. During the administration of Sten Sture the Russians had time and again invaded Finland, without, however, causing the Swedish interests any particular injury. These wars were less dangerous so long as the republic of Novgorod was the neighbor of Sweden on the East,

but at this time the republic was conquered by the Grand Duke Ivan of Moscow, who had succeeded in uniting all the Russian provinces into a great and powerful empire. From this time on Russia became a dangerous neighbor to Sweden. The war which had broken out between Sweden and Russia was of little account prior to the year 1495, when the Russians invaded Carelia and laid siege to Viborg. The Swedish army, under command of their great General Posse, gained a decisive victory over the Russians, but he could not prevent them from committing ravages all through the country. Sten Sture brought over a large army to Finland, but he was not able to accomplish much on account of the plottings of the nobility at home upon whom he had to keep constantly a watchful eye. At this time he fell into a dispute with one of the generals, Swante Sture, a son of his old companion-in-arms, Nils Bosson, who had become his enemy on account of some property disputes. Swante had defended Finland during Sten's absence and wanted to return home on the arrival of the administrator, who became angry and called him a runaway. Exasperated by the treatment which he had received Swante returned to Sweden with his army, whither the administrator followed him soon after he had begun peace negotiations with the Russians. After his return home the storm broke loose from all directions against the administrator. He was so overwhelmed with all sorts of accusations that the Council removed him in the year 1497, but he appealed against the decision of the Council to the inhabitants of Sweden and organized a new army which surrounded the castle of Staket where the archbishop and his friends were

besieged. King Hans came from Denmark to their assistance and marched an army through the country to Stockholm where he in turn surrounded and besieged Sten, and when the people from Dalarne came marching southward to his assistance the Danes hastened against them. A battle was fought and the result favored King Hans; returning from their victory the Danes carried the Swedish banners before them, and thus deceived Sten, who, supposing them to be Swedes, marched out of the city to meet them only to be suddenly attacked and defeated on October 28, 1497. The administrator, who saw no means of escaping out of the dilemma, was compelled to recognize King Hans as King of Sweden, whereupon he himself was appointed governor of Finland. King Hans entered Stockholm in triumph, was elected King and crowned with great formality, on which occasion he dubbed several of the prominent lords knights of the realm. Two years later the King's son, Christian, at a general Riksdag was elected heir apparent to the throne.

King Hans was an intelligent, prudent and good-natured prince, who endeavored to perform his duties and govern the kingdom according to the laws, and to reconcile the contending parties. He endeavored to please all, yet did not succeed in satisfying anyone, for the Swedes could not forget that it was by means of his army that he had entered Sweden and been elected King. Dissatisfaction soon broke out when misfortunes began to attend the ambitious endeavors of the King. He had striven for some time to conquer the peasants of Friesland, who had for a long time defended their liberty behind their canals and ditches against the encroachments of their op-

pressors. At the head of a well equipped army of cavalry he advanced into Ditmarschen. This army was met by the peasants near a place called Hemmingstet, a narrow pass surrounded by deep canals. The army, unable to manoeuvre, was thrown into confusion, and the proud cavalry were unable to defend themselves against the attacks of the peasants who rushed upon them, gaining a complete victory. King Hans was completely defeated and lost all hold of the province and even the strongly fortified place, Danebrog, in the year 1500.

When news reached Sweden that the King had lost the battle of Ditmarschen the malcontents began to bestir themselves and to combine for common action against him. The leading spirit in this new conspiracy was a certain doctor Hemming Gad, bishop-elect of Linkoping, a man of brilliant talents, learned, a fine orator, a good statesman, and very resourceful; at the same time he was ambitious and passionate; he cherished a bitter hatred against Denmark and had made it an object of his life to bring about a dissolution of the union between the two kingdoms. He succeeded in reconciling the former enemies, Sten and Swante Sture and in uniting them against King Hans. The King arrived at Stockholm shortly afterwards to try and satisfy their demands, but it was in vain. Shortly afterwards the Stures, Gad, and several other prominent lords combined to issue a proclamation that the King had forfeited all allegiance.

This rebellion spread rapidly through the country and Sten Sture was for the second time elected administrator of the kingdom in 1501. The King had hastened to Denmark to collect an army and had ap-

pointed as regent for Sweden the Queen Christina of Saxony; she was soon besieged by the Swedes but defended herself heroically at Stockholm for the space of eight months and did not surrender the castle until she was in the last extremity. The Danes, however, were soon driven from the country and all their endeavors to recover it were futile. The struggle between the contending factions was soon allayed and Queen Christina, who had for some time been kept a prisoner, was given her liberty and Sten Sture accompanied her to the boundary of her own kingdom. On his return the administrator was suddenly seized with sickness and died in 1503.

Swante Sture and King Hans.—The ambitious bishop of Linkoping, Hemming Gad, next in power to the administrator in the Swedish government, kept the death of the administrator secret for some time until the Council of State was assembled. Swante Sture was unanimously elected administrator in January, 1504. He had proven himself on the field of battle a skilled commander and a man of courage, but he was wanting in political sagacity, and a large portion of the internal administration of Sweden was left to the powerful Hemming Gad, who in reality was the joint ruler during the eight years of Sture's administration.

Swante Sture was a valiant warrior, and a man of a bountiful and cheerful disposition. It was said of him proverbially that no one was admitted into his service who was observed to wink before the blow of a battle axe, and that he would rather strip himself of his clothes than suffer a fellow-soldier to go unrewarded. He is censured as having looked chiefly to the weal of the soldiery, but his government was one

of almost incessant war. The people ascribed the public calamities to the circumstances of the time, and gratefully remembered on the other hand how the administrator, on entering the cot of a peasant, greeted the owner, his wife, and his children, with a grasp of the hand, sat with them at the same table, and inquired after their affairs with good natured courtesy. His assistant in the government, Hemming Gad, was a priest by vocation and learning, but not in manner and character, designated to the crosier, but never its actual possessor, and oftener seen at the head of an army or a fleet than at the altar; for the rest, well experienced in state affairs and ardent in his hatred of the name of Denmark.

Their government, for we may speak of it as conjoint, was an uninterrupted war with Denmark, carried on by yearly predatory expeditions, the intervals between them being taken up with negotiations and congresses, from which, if we learn little else from them, we at least, through the names of the negotiators, become acquainted with the persons who stood at the head of the peace party in Sweden.

Among them we observe Lord Eric Trolle with a great proportion of the Council and all the bishops excepting Hemming Gad, who did not scruple publicly to reproach the others with carrying Danish hearts under the mantle of Swedish bishops. Proposals were continually made for a new recognition of King Hans, who appealed to the Emperor and the Pope, and obtained a declaration of outlawry against his Swedish foes, in which we find even the deceased Sten Sture included.

Sten Sture the younger, a son of Swante Sture, the

noblest and most chivalrous of his family, was on the death of his father in 1512 elected administrator of Sweden. He was greatly beloved by the common people for his endeavors to keep Danish influences out of the country. The nobles kept up their turbulent and rebellious spirit, some of them adhering to the Danish King, while others resisted his influence on Swedish affairs.

King Hans or John of Denmark died February 21, 1513, by some regarded as a good and honest man, yet fanatically religious and at the same time violent and cruel. During his reign the relations between Sweden and Denmark had consisted principally in peace negotiations alternated with war between the two countries. Sten Sture had a rival and foe in the Archbishop of Upsala, Gustav Trolle, who through hatred of the Stures proved himself a traitor to his country, and brought worse troubles and more misery upon it than any that had hitherto fallen upon the unhappy land.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRISTIAN II.

1513-1521.

Social and Political Condition of Sweden—Sweden an Elective Monarchy—Royal Prerogatives Limited—Taxation—Fines—Clergy and Nobility—Administrator's Power—Council—Wealth of the Church and Power of the Priests—Influence in Elections—Castles of the Nobles—Burghers of the Cities—Numbers and Influence of the Bondes—Jealousy of Power—Jealousy between the Families—Christian II King in Denmark Connives with Archbishop Trolle—Invades Sweden—Defeated by Sture—Archbishop Deposed—Christian II. Invades West Gothland—Sture Wounded—Christian becomes King of Sweden—Coronation—The Blood-bath of Stockholm—Massacres—The Wrath of the Swedes—Calmar Union Dissolved—Danish Opinion of Christian II.—His Imprisonment and Death.

At the time of King John's death in 1513, Sweden was as near to the point of anarchy as it well could be. A law-abiding and a liberty-loving people seemed to be without law and order. This condition of things may to some extent explain the barbaric conduct of Christian II. who now comes upon the scene. A short review of the social and political conditions of Sweden during the close of the middle ages may give a better understanding of the revolution which is about to take place.

Sweden was originally from the time of Yngve an elective monarchy and remained such down to the time of Gustavus Vasa; for though the children and nearest relations of the deceased Monarch were usual-

ly advanced to the Throne, the order of birthright was sometimes neglected, and the succession was always determined by choice. And, by virtue of this right of election, the Swedes oftentimes claimed a power to depose their Sovereigns, when they encroached upon the liberty and privileges of the Nation, as was provided by the old laws of the West Goths which declare:—"The Swedes have both right and power to elect and to dethrone their King."

The royal authority was confined within very narrow limits; for the King could neither make war nor peace, much less raise money or soldiers without the consent of the Council, or of the Estates when they were assembled; it was not lawful for him to erect new forts, or to put the government of the old castles into the hands of strangers. The bringing of foreign troops into the kingdom would have infallibly exposed him to the danger of universal revolt; for everything that might serve to extend, or even confirm the royal prerogative was hated and suspected by the people, who were as jealous of the power of their sovereigns as of that of their neighbors and enemies.

The patrimonial revenue of the crown consisted of certain small territories near Upsala called "Upsala Oede,"and other crown lands,and in a very easy tribute exacted from the people by way of poll-tax, which was graded according to the income. In the reign of King Magnus Ladulas the copper mines, the proprietary rights of the three great lakes, Malar, Vaner and Vetter, and the rights of fishing upon the coast of the Baltic Sea were by the Council reunited to the crown; and by the same authority it was ordained that they who had purchased untilled lands held in fee, or a right

to pasturage in the forests, should afterwards pay those duties to the crown, from which they had freed themselves during the civil wars. Since, by the laws of the kingdom, there were few offenses punishable with death, the fines and forfeitures that were exacted on such occasions were of old a considerable branch of the King's revenue; but the bishops and clergy had seized on the profits which accrued that way, and perhaps colored their justice under a pretext that these fines belonged to the church, as a kind of expiation or atonement for the crimes of the malefactors.

The fees of manors and the governorship of castles, which at first were only granted for life, or for a term of years, were insensibly changed to hereditary possessions; for the nobles who enjoyed them neglected the payment of the usual duties for those posts which they held by no other title but their own power and the weakness of the crown. And the bishops and others of the clergy who were possessed of such places made use of the plausible pretext of religion to claim an exemption from the taxes they were in duty bound to pay for those estates which, as they pretended, had devolved to the church and become part of its patrimony. Thus the clergy and nobility had, by several usurpations, absorbed so great a part of the Prince's revenue, that the remainder at that time was scarcely sufficient to maintain five hundred horse. The King was considered little more than the captain-general of the state during war, and president of the Council in time of peace. It is true that the King or Administrator was always most favorable to the prerogative, especially when the war was carried on with success against the enemies of the nation; but the conclusion

of a peace put a stop to his growing authority, and left him only the power to call a meeting of the Estates, to propose matters for their deliberation, and to execute their decrees.

The public authority was almost entirely lodged in the Council, which was usually composed of twelve lords, who for the most part were governors of provinces, or principal officers of state. These lords attended the King at Stockholm, the capital city of the kingdom, when any important affairs were to be transacted. The archbishop of Upsala, primate of Sweden, was a councillor by virtue of his office; and the six bishops of the kingdom bore great sway in the meeting of the Estates, though they had no right to sit in the Council unless they were nominated by the King, or chosen by the Estates during an interregnum. The dignity of councillor was not hereditary, for the nomination of these officers was a branch of the royal prerogative; and some of the bishops, or principal lords of the kingdom, were selected to fill vacant places by the King, who in this way had a fair opportunity to introduce his friends and creatures into the Council. But he was frequently disappointed in his choice, and for the most part lost a friend when he made him a councillor; for the nearer a favorite was advanced to his master's power and authority the farther removed he was from his interest. Add to this that love of liberty and affection for their country were in those days the predominant passions of the Swedes, and that no engagement or obligation could weaken the bias of so powerful an inclination.

The Council which at first was only instituted as an advisory body, had by degrees assumed authority

over the King's actions. The eldest councillor claimed the right to admonish and check the Prince when he transgressed the limits of his prerogative. The people looked upon the councillors as the protectors of the liberties and privileges of the nation. The sovereign power and majesty of the state was properly lodged in that body. There justice was administered independently and without appeal, and both war and peace depended on their deliberations. It is true they acted conjointly with the King, but he was oftentimes obliged to content himself with the honor of executing their resolutions.

The clergy were possessed of greater riches than the King and all the other Estates of the kingdom. The archbishop of Upsala and his six suffragans maintained their dignity with all the splendor that a vast treasure could enable them to display. They were for the most part the temporal lords of their episcopal Sees, and besides the possessions that were annexed to their bishoprics, which consisted in much landed property and various castles, they had made themselves heirs to all the ecclesiastics that died intestate in their respective dioceses, and thus by degrees had very greatly augmented their revenues. They enjoyed the profits of fines and forfeitures, which formerly belonged to the crown, and by several foundations and pious legacies had made themselves masters of a considerable number of the King's manors and fees. The patrimony of the church was daily augmented by donations, but could never be diminished by sale or alienation, for such practices were forbidden by express ecclesiastical laws, which were as prejudicial to the laity as they were advantageous to the clergy,

and served only to establish the grandeur of the latter upon the ruins of the former.

The bishops made such good use at elections of the influence they had over the people and of the need a pretender had of their votes and interest, that they obtained on such occasions certain privileges which very considerably diminished both the revenue and authority of the Prince. They exacted what conditions they pleased of the King before they would acknowledge him as their sovereign; and before they would perform the ceremony of his coronation they obliged him to swear that he would inviolably uphold them in the possession of their rights and privileges, that he would never attempt to put a garrison into any of their castles or forts, that the lands and manors which they enjoyed, by what means whatsoever they had come into possession of them, should not be re-united to the crown; and at the same time they made him sign a paper, declaring that he consented to his own deposition, if ever he should violate his oath by encroaching upon their privileges.

These prelates grew so proud of their riches, and of the number of their vassals, that they began by degrees to act like so many little sovereigns. They fortified their castles and kept garrisons in them. They never appeared without a numerous attendance of gentlemen and soldiers, and were to be found at the head of all factions and intrigues. They frequently took up arms against their neighbors about differences relating to their vassals or to the limits of their estates; and sometimes did not even scruple to march at the head of an army against their sovereign, especially when they suspected him of a design to recover

the duties and lands that belonged to the crown.

The lords and gentlemen fortified their castles and made them the seats of their petty empires. They treated their vassals like menial servants, though they allowed them no wages; they made them till their lands, and oftentimes put them in arms to make incursions into the territories of their neighbors. The Swedish nobility was not then distinguished by the titles of Baron, Count or Marquis, or by hereditary names of families. They were known by the respective arms of their houses, and by their father's name which they bore jointly with their own, and were noted for their valor, and for the numerous train of vassals that followed them to battle. They defended their rights and revenged the injuries they received by force of arms, and neither sought nor expected redress from public courts of justice, because the government had no power to carry the laws into execution. Force was the standard of law and justice, and the supreme arbiter of all sorts of controversies.

The burghers of Stockholm, and the inhabitants of other maritime towns, who subsisted merely by trading, were more submissive to the King, and better affected to the government. The merchants especially were so disheartened by the license which exposed them to the insolence of every potent oppressor, that they would willingly have consented to invest the King with sufficient authority to restore the public quiet, and to establish the trade of the nation in a flourishing condition; but there were so few cities in the kingdom, that their deputies had no great interest, and were not much regarded in the Riksdag.

The bondes on the contrary, who in Sweden have

the peculiar privilege of sending deputies of their own order to, and forming one of the Estates of the Riksdag, out of blind obedience to their lords were obstinate asserters of the liberties and privileges of their provinces. Those who lived in fertile countries applied themselves to husbandry; but in Helsingland, Gestricland, Angermanland, and other Northern provinces, they spent their time in hunting fallow deer, which furnished them with meat for their subsistence and skins for the Prince's tribute. They were men of sturdy character, lovers of their liberties, for the most part bred in the woods, jealous of their customs; and having little to lose, they were ready upon the least occasion to rise up in arms and revolt against the government or their oppressors. Idolatry was still openly practiced in some of their villages while christianity was professed in others; but their religion was so disfigured by an admixture of their ancient superstitions that they scarcely retained more of it than the bare name of christians.

The bondes were the most numerous and powerful body in the state; some of them held immediately of the crown, sending deputies to the Riksdag, and the rest were vassals of the clergy and nobility. Though the tribute they paid to the King was very light and inconsiderable, he was oftentimes obliged to levy it by force, and to send some regular troops to the forests and mountains for the security of those who were appointed to collect his dues. They seldom or never contributed their assistance to the preservation of the state except as soldiers; and even in that case they thought themselves obliged only to defend the frontiers of their respective provinces, and always

claimed the privilege of choosing their own leaders. In all other respects they lived almost without any dependence upon the court, and even without any union or concord among themselves; being equally incapable of association and submission, and affecting rather an unreasonable independence than a generous liberty.

If we reflect upon the independence of the subjects, the limited authority of the sovereign, and the different interests of the several orders that composed the state, it will not appear strange that the kingdom was almost perpetually harassed by insurrections and civil wars. Most of the Kings aspired to a more absolute authority, and some of them, by the assistance of their friends and creatures, endeavored to make themselves masters of the government, and to shake off their dependence on the Council; but the people were so far from being unconcerned spectators of an open violation of the liberties and privileges of the nation, that the faintest indication of a tendency towards arbitrary power occasioned universal revolt, and re-united all the Estates against the King.

The bishops were afraid of reprisals under too powerful a Prince, who might seize his alienated revenues, and perhaps confine the clergy within the limits of their profession. The noblemen took up arms to defend the privileges that made them in a manner independent, and the bondes, without comprehending their true interests, fought with the utmost vigor and obstinacy for the preservation of certain customs that were useless to the public but agreeable to their savage temper. The whole kingdom was a perpetual scene of sedition, desolation, and revolt. The fate of

the King seemed to be in the hands of his subjects, and to depend on their capricious humor, and several Princes were driven out of the kingdom for attempting to make themselves absolute.

The jealousy that reigned among the principal families of the kingdom made them willing to retain the title and dignity of a King, while at the same time they resolved to bestow that honor only upon a foreign Prince, who, having no private estate in the kingdom, and being wholly destitute of relations and creatures, might be obliged to content himself with as much authority as they thought fit to allow him.

Such were the conditions in Sweden at the time when Christian II. was crowned King at Stockholm. He began by applying the pruning knife to the many bad outgrowths on the tree, supposing that in this way he would save the stem from utter destruction. But the task was too great for him and he perished in the attempt. Yet he undoubtedly helped to prepare the social and political conditions of the country for a new order of things and for a reform which under other and less favorable circumstances could not have been accomplished.

Christian II., called in Sweden The Tyrant, after his father King John's death succeeded to the crown of Denmark; he was already administrator in Norway where he had begun his bloody work, and now laid claim to the government of Sweden. War broke out in 1516 when Christian II. brought an army on his fleet to Stockholm in connivance with Archbishop Trolle, who raised an army in Sweden to assist him. They were defeated by Sten Sture, and the archbishop at a Riksdag of Arboga was declared to have forfeited his

office, and his castle was demolished. Next year Christian II. landed an army near Stockholm, but was again defeated by Sten Sture and compelled to depart. Christian arranged a parley with his opponent during which several of the Swedish nobles were given him as hostages and he sailed away with them as prisoners of war.

In 1520 Christian with his army broke into Sweden for the third time. Sten Sture met the invaders in West Gothland. He was wounded at the opening of the battle, and his army being without a competent leader was defeated and dispersed. Christina, the heroic widow of Sten Sture, defended Stockholm. Upon the death of Sten Sture the Swedish government was dissolved, and Christian II. was elected King of Sweden by the nobles on condition that he should govern according to the laws of the land, and swear to uphold them. Gustavus Trolle was now restored to his archiepiscopal office, and terrible was the vengeance that he induced the tyrannous King to inflict upon his opponents.

Christian II. was crowned King in Stockholm in the autumn of 1520 with great festivities, to which all the great men of Sweden had been invited. A general amnesty for all past political offences had been proclaimed. This amnesty was a mere pretext by King Christian to induce the councillors of state, the nobility, and the clergy to attend his coronation and to be caught in the trap and brought to the block secretly prepared for them.

On the third day of the solemnities which followed the coronation the gates of the castle of Stockholm were unexpectedly barred, and Archbishop Gustav-

us Trolle came into the King's presence, to complain of the violence and injuries suffered by himself and the archiepiscopal See of Upsala, at the hands of the deceased administrator, for which he now demanded satisfaction. He was probably himself ignorant of the atrocities, in the perpetration of which he was to be instrumental. He is said, as we may conclude from a contemporary account, to have maintained that the question of punishment and compensation must be referred to Rome, but the King negatived his proposal, declaring that the matter should be adjudicated forthwith. As the prelate's charges were really directed against Sture, his widow Christina Gyllenstjerna stood up and appealed to the resolution of the Estates at the Riksdag whereby Gustavus Trolle was unanimously declared to have forfeited his dignity, and which the principal spiritual and secular lords had subscribed under an express obligation to common responsibility. Such of these as were now present, and among them two bishops, were immediately seized and thrown into prison; the remainder were confined over night in the castle, the clergy in a separate chamber. Next morning the question was proposed to them, whether it was not heresy to confederate and conspire against the holy See of Rome, which they were constrained to answer in the affirmative. This was regarded as confession of guilt and by themselves as a delivery of sentence and condemnation. On the same morning public proclamation was made that the inhabitants of Stockholm should not quit their houses before a signal was given. It was the 8th of November, 1520. Towards mid-day the burghers were summoned to the great market place, upon which the captives were now

led forth; there were Matthias, bishop of Strengnas, who had labored harder to advance the Danish party than any other man in Sweden, Vincent, bishop of Skara, twelve temporal lords, most of them councillors of state, and lastly the burgomasters and council of Stockholm, with many of the burghers.

Nicholas Lycke, a Danish knight, spoke to the people, and exhorted them not to be alarmed at what was about to happen, saying that Archbishop Gustavus Trolle had thrice adjured the King upon his knees to suffer that this punishment should overtake the guilty. At this Bishop Vincent raised his voice, exclaiming that not a word was true, and that the King was playing the traitor towards the Swedes. Several of the captives began to make speeches to the same effect, but were silenced by the executioners. All were beheaded, the consolations of religion being denied them. Handicraftsmen were dragged from their work to the slaughter; and bystanders were also pulled into the circle by the headsmen, who did their bloody office upon them, because they had been seen to weep. The brothers Olave and Lawrence Petri escaped a like fate only from the circumstance that a German who had known them in Wittenberg protested that they were not Swedes. Olaus Magnus saw ninety-four persons beheaded; others were hanged or butchered with the keenest torments. During the night the houses of the killed were plundered, and the women outraged. The assassinations were continued for a second and third day, after public proclamation of peace and security had enticed new victims from their retreat. The corpses lay for three days in the market place, before they were carried out of the town and burned at

Sodermalm. Sten Sture's body with that of one of his children was torn from the grave and cast upon the funeral pile. Before the massacre had terminated, the King despatched letters to all the provinces stating that he had caused Sten Sture's chief abettors to be disciplined for heresy and placed under the ban of the church, according to the sentence of the bishops, prelates, and wisest men of Sweden, and that he would hereafter govern the kingdom in peace after the laws of St. Eric. Meanwhile the massacre, in conformity with his command, was extended to Finland, where Hemming Gad was not saved by his defection from laying his head, at the age of eighty, upon the block. The King's whole progress from Stockholm continued to be marked by the same cruelties, not even the innocence of childhood being spared. More than six hundred had fallen before he quitted the Swedish territory, at the beginning of 1521.

Christian II. having thus removed from his path by execution, banishment, or imprisonment many of the prominent Swedes, considered himself secure on the throne; but as soon as his barbarous conduct became known to the people, they were seized with horror, wrath, and indignation against a man who could commit such barbarities. The Primate Trolle who in the name of the Catholic religion had advised the massacre did not escape the retribution that followed.

The Swedish people rose to a man against these oppressors. The whole North was shaken to its foundation. The union between the three Scandinavian kingdoms was dissolved, the old social and religious conditions were modified and the ancient system of government was overthrown. After that bloody day

of November 8, 1520, the Swedish people rose like a phoenix from the ashes, and thenceforward advanced triumphantly, becoming within 150 years the arbiters of Europe.

Christian II. did not long enjoy the fruits of his bloody victory. He left Sweden for Denmark with a trail of blood behind him too revolting to describe. The Danish historians have given the King credit for accomplishing some good in his day and generation. A man in such an exalted position as that of a King ought to achieve some good in the world. The social conditions of the people of the North were peculiar. Property and wealth had become concentrated in the hands of a few temporal nobles or in the hands of the clergy. These two powerful factions oppressed all their inferiors; and in Denmark particularly the peasants had been reduced to the condition of serfs. History must give Christian II. credit for having curbed the tyranny of the nobles and enacted laws which gave the peasants of Denmark freedom. It was his hatred of the powerful nobles which impelled him to the execution of many of this unruly despotic class. They also hated him generously. One day in April, 1523, Christian II. found in a glove which he was about to draw on, a crumpled paper in which his Danish nobles announced to him, that they had elected his uncle Frederik to be their King. Christian in his alarm lost his courage and his head; without any attempt to defend himself and to fight for his crown, for which he had shed so much blood, he fled with his family and his treasures, intending to escape to Germany; but he was soon captured and imprisoned in a dungeon of one of the Danish castles where he spent the rest of his life. He died in 1559.

CHAPTER XVII.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

1521-1560.

Gustavus' Birth—His Family—His Childhood—Imprisonment—Escape—Concealment in Dalarne—Elected Chief—Seizes the Copper Mines—His Army Increases—Trolle and the Danes March against Him with 8,000 Men—Danes Defeated—Victories of Gustavus—Influence on the Public Mind—Gustavus Administrator—War Continued—Treaty with the Hansa—Norby Sails from Stockholm—Gustavus Elected King—Enters Stockholm—Power of the Church—Independent of the Government—Canon Law—Nobles and Clergy Favor the Union—Disorders Throughout the Kingdom—Struggles of Gustavus—Reformation—The Petri—Andrew—Translation of New Testament—Gustavus' Relation with Pope—Johannes Magnus Archbishop—Meeting at Upsala—Magnus Departs for Rome—Insurrection in Dalarne—Christian II. Attempts to Regain the Throne.

Gustavus Vasa, born on May 12, 1496, was descended from an old Swedish family which had given members of the Council of State for not less than two centuries. At an early age he was placed in the University of Upsala where he pursued his studies for some years, though the story goes that he was not always a model student. In 1514, when about eighteen years of age, he was received into the family of Sten Sture the younger, then administrator of Sweden, where he was introduced to military and court life. He made good use of his opportunities. He first bore arms in the feud between Sten Sture the Younger and Archbishop Gustavus Trolle, the instigator of the Stock-

holm Blood-bath by Christian The Tyrant. Gustavus Vasa was distinguished for valor, persuasive eloquence, and a joyous temperament. In 1518, when King Christian failed in his attempt to take Stockholm, Gustavus and five other noblemen were placed as hostages on the Danish ships, during a parley between the King and Sture, and were treacherously carried prisoners to Denmark, where Gustavus was committed to the keeping of Baron Baner, his kinsman, and confined in the castle. Early one morning he made his escape, fled to Lubeck, whence he crossed the Baltic in a merchant vessel, and landed in Sweden near the city of Calmar, where the castle was still being held and defended by the courageous woman Anna Bjelke against the Danish fleet which besieged the place. Gustavus left Calmar and sought refuge among the country farmers while wandering Northward pursued by Danish spies. A high price had been set upon his head by Christian II. and he was not safe anywhere. In 1520, when Christian II. came to Stockholm with his fleet and army to be crowned King of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa was concealed on his father's estate Raefness, and here the information reached him that his father, brother-in-law, and other Swedish lords, bishops, and burghers had been murdered in the Blood-bath of Stockholm.

Gustavus Vasa now fled to the province of Dalarne for the purpose of arousing the patriotic Dalcarlar to take up arms against the treacherous Danes, and to drive them out of the country. He encountered new dangers and was more than once on the verge of captivity. At Christmas, 1520, he addressed the Dalcarlar at their church services. He pictured with

GUSTAVUS VASA.

great eloquence the barbarities committed by King Christian and the Danish faction at Stockholm six weeks previously, and throughout the land; and he appealed to them as having under Engelbert driven the enemy out of the country to again take up arms for the liberation of Sweden. The Danish bailiffs were close on his heels, and his escapes were on several occasions miraculous. Once he escaped falling into their hands by the presence of mind of a Dale woman who struck him with a broom, and ordered him out to tend the cattle instead of looking curiously at his pursuers who were then enquiring for him. The bailiff took him for a servant instead of the quarry they were hunting for. Another time he was carted in a load of hay; the bailiffs pierced the load with their spears and wounded Gustavus, but the faithful driver wounded his horse and made the pursuers believe that the blood on the snow had dripped from the wound of the horse and not from that of Gustavus. Many are the places in the province of Dalarne to this day shown by the people where the future deliverer and King labored or was hidden during the early part of his career. About the year 1521 Lawrence Alaveson, an officer of great experience in the service of Sten Sture the younger, and John Michelson, a noble, came to the province of Dalarne and confirmed the reports of the murder of the first men and women of the land at Stockholm and throughout the country.

The Dalcarlar met in great numbers at Mora where they elected Gustavus Vasa to be "Lord and Chieftain over them and the commons and realm of Sweden." Sixteen active and powerful young men were selected as his bodyguard, and several hundred young men

offered their services, and so became the nucleus of the future army that was to deliver Sweden from the foreign intruders. In February, 1521, Gustavus appeared with several hundred men at the Royal Kopparberg, the chief mine, where he seized all the treasure, which he used to pay his soldiers and to enlist a more numerous army.

Christian II. had appointed as his representative or Vice Regent Theodore Slayhock, who sent Archbishop Trolle and Henry of Mellen with an army of 8,000 troops, mostly Danes and Germans, into the province of Dalarne to quell the rebellion of Gustavus and the Dalcarlar. The two armies met on the Dale river at the ferry of Burnsback. The insurgent forces were divided, and while the main body made an attack in front, another division attacked the King's army in the flank and routed it. Gustavus now marched his army, which had greatly increased in number, into the province of Westmanland, and attacked Vesteras. The army was divided into two commands under the two generals Lawrence Ericson and Lawrence Olafson. The Danish army was attacked in the front and in the rear, and after a bloody fight large numbers were left on the field, and the remainder put to flight.

This second victory of Gustavus produced a great effect on public opinion. Many who heretofore were on the side of Christian and the Union, now declared openly for Gustavus, and he was everywhere hailed as the deliverer of Sweden. One castle after another opened its gates to him, and the provinces in rapid succession declared allegiance to his cause. All the Danish leaders or sympathizers were captured or dis-

persed except Christian's able representative, Severin Norby, who still held Stockholm where he was lying with the Danish squadron, which gave him the control of the sea.

In the month of August, 1521, Gustavus Vasa convoked a Riksdag of the grandees at Vadstena, which was attended by seventy of them, as well as by many other persons of all classes in Sweden. They made him a tender of the crown, which he refused, but on the 24th of August, 1521, the Estates swore fealty and obedience to him as administrator of the kingdom.

The war still continued, as Severin Norby, who was holding Stockholm, received successive reinforcements by sea; and for nearly two years the fortunes of war seemed to be alternately on one side and the other. Then Gustavus formed a treaty with the Hansa cities, who sent him a fleet for the relief of Stockholm. Severin Norby evacuated the city and sailed out of the harbor in time to escape the combined attack by sea and land.

Gustavus Vasa had, by the assistance of the bondes, delivered the Swedish people from the tyrannous rule of Christian II. Lest any further complications should arise a Riksdag met at Strengnas at which, on June 7, 1523, the representatives of the people elected Gustavus Vasa King of Sweden. Thus was the Union dissolved after it had lasted one hundred and twenty years. On June 24th, 1523, Gustavus made his entry into Stockholm.

When Gustavus Vasa, after being elected King, entered Stockholm, his capital, he found the city in ruins. More than half of the houses were vacant, and the people were impoverished by the long siege. The

spectacle which here met his eye could be witnessed throughout the larger portion of his kingdom—poverty, disorder, and lawlessness. The dissolution of the Union had left ruin behind it. The grandees, the prelates, and the clerical party were almost uniformly in favor of the Union, and had taken sides with the Danes, while the bondes and common people had even in Engelbert's time been opposed to it and eager for independence.

Large tracts of Swedish land at this time belonged to the crown, but several of the grandees had come into possession of these lands as well as of the crown castles; they had also obtained the privilege of collecting the taxes and imposts, which they then kept and appropriated to their own use. They levied unreasonable taxes, and took all their property from the bondes if this unfortunate class could not, or would not, comply with their demands. These grandees usually kept an armed retinue and engaged in frequent petty wars with each other. They were a constant menace to the royal prerogative, and often rose in rebellion against the constituted authorities. The administrators and Kings of Sweden had for several centuries formed an alliance with the farmer, or bonde class, who were always struggling against the aristocracy, whose endeavor it was to enslave them.

The Roman catholic church had gained great power since the introduction of christianity into Sweden. She pursued the same course there as elsewhere in Europe, securing large amounts of real and personal property, which were held free of taxes and other burdens laid upon the rest of the community. The spiritual lords had secured from some early and weak

Kings church laws that placed the clergy outside the jurisdiction of the civil law. The church might be regarded as a foreign power established within yet independent of the kingdom, which in the absence of any supreme civil authority looked well after its own interests. Its dignitaries constituted the most powerful portion of the aristocracy, the more so, as the bishops were also holders of temporal fiefs. They were favorable to the Union, and hostile to the patriotic party. Engelbert, King Charles Knutson and the Stures were in constant conflict with this hierarchical class. A revengeful archbishop opened the way for Christian the Tyrant to the throne. Gustavus Trolle was the most detested man in Sweden. The eyes of the Swedish people were opened to the hypocrisy of the priests and showed little respect for them and their religion, which in the light of the Bible was classed as merely human invention. The church was, comparatively speaking, by far the richest corporation of the country, and through the lower clergy exercised great influence over the common people.

All commerce and all industries had been paralyzed by the long civil war. The means of transportation by land and sea were in a deplorable condition.

While things were in this chaotic state Gustavus came to the throne. He struggled manfully to bring order out of confusion, and succeeded not only in establishing his authority but also in introducing the reformation into Sweden; he set up schools among the people, and encouraged commerce, mining, and other industries, which speaks well for his character and places him among the great benefactors of mankind.

The great reformation in Germany and other parts

of Europe spread at this time to Sweden and other parts of the Scandinavian peninsula. Two young monks, the brothers Olave Petri and Lawrence Petri, who had for some time been students under Martin Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, Germany, were destined to become leaders in the introduction of the Lutheran doctrines into Sweden.

Olave Petri returned to Sweden in 1519, and with great boldness began to preach the new doctrine at Strengnas. Lawrence Andrew, the vicar at Strengnas, a man of great learning, sagacity, and tact, was convinced that popery consisted mainly of human invention. He translated the New Testament into Swedish, and Gustavus ordered his version to be printed and distributed. He became a favorite with the King, who soon became convinced that the Swedish Church was ripe for the reformation. Gustavus also employed the religious agitation as a means to deprive the prelates, bishops, and clergy of their enormous wealth and influence. Their influence he checked, and their wealth and the superfluous church property he seized for the benefit of the impoverished government.

Gustavus appointed the reformer Lawrence Andrew as his chancellor, and Olave Petri was installed as rector primarius at the Cathedral of Stockholm. The King continued to keep up a friendly correspondence with the Pope, but when the Vatican demanded that the traitorous archbishop Gustavus Trolle should be restored to his office, its demands were rejected. King Gustavus deposed several of the bishops without consulting or referring the matter to Rome. He proposed Johannes Magnus for archbishop, who was the last catholic bishop elected primate of Sweden.

The new archbishop was a learned man, but vain, and lacked that strength of character needed for the exalted position he was called upon to fill during these agitated times. At any rate he did not venture to oppose the King in his movement toward reform.

In May 1526 Gustavus paid a visit to Upsala. The archbishop Johannes Magnus received him with great pomp and ceremony outside the gate of the city. Gustavus entered the city with his chancellor, Lawrence Andrew, on his left, and the archbishop on his right. The archbishop had prepared a great feast for the King and his retinue. At the banqueting table were two elevated seats, one for the King and one for the archbishop. It was noticeable that the archbishop was served with better silver and dishes, and better food and wine than the King. The archbishop esteemed his exalted position as higher than that of the King, the former being spiritual and the latter temporal, and took no pains to conceal the fact, to the great chagrin of Gustavus. At the close of the banquet the archbishop filled his gold goblet with wine, and addressing the King said—"Our Grace drinks to the health of your Grace!" The King retorted: "Our Grace and thy Grace have not room sufficient under one roof," and thereupon he arose and left the banqueting hall. Gustavus let the primate understand that in his capacity as King of Sweden he was superior in rank to all temporal and spiritual lords, and that they all must show due respect to his royal dignity.

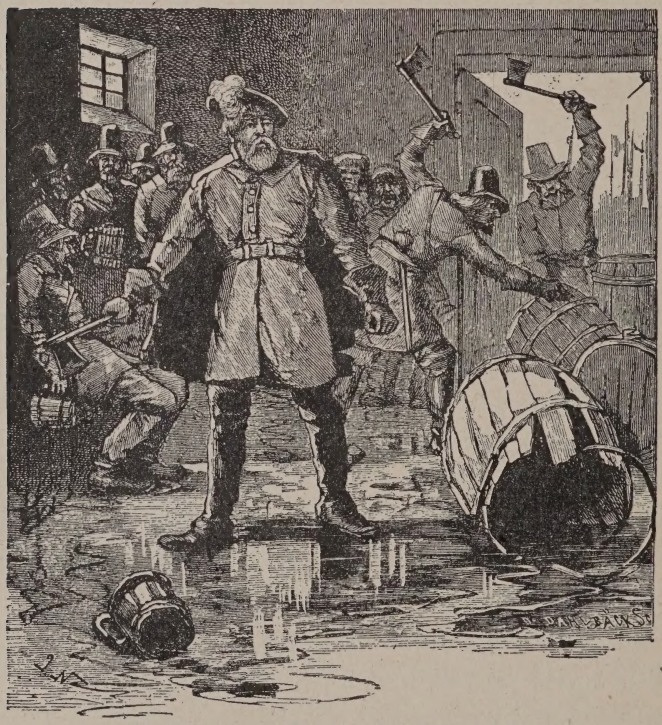
He did not, however, break off his intercourse with the archbishop, but it was carried on in such a way that the office of archbishop not long after became vacant. Under a pretext that one of the most exalted

men of the realm should go to Poland and Russia, Gustavus sent Magnus the archbishop as special ambassador to those countries. Johannes Magnus never returned to Sweden but having performed his missions he journeyed to Italy and there he spent the remainder of his days at Rome. Here he did his native country a great service by writing a "History of Sweden" which was printed in Rome, a work of exceedingly great value and deep interest. Bishop Brask of Linkoping, on the contrary, though at one time friendly to the King became his bitter opponent, an act which at last by his voluntary banishment cost him his diocese.

The Insurrection of the Dalcarlar.—By the year 1525 new dangers began to threaten the throne of Gustavus. The prelates Peder Jacobson and one Canut, who had been expelled from their offices, undertook to start an insurrection among the people of Dalarne. Gustavus had directed his tax collectors to take from each parish church part of the silver, and also the bells, if there were more than one in the tower, to be applied to the reduction of the government debts. This order outraged the Dalcarlar and at the instigation of the clergy they took up arms, and drove the tax gatherers out of the country. They also sent threatening letters to King Gustavus.

A new attempt was made in 1525 to restore Christian II. to the Swedish throne. Severin Norby and the traitorous Mehlen formed an alliance with the deposed prelates and other rebellious spirits who succeeded in raising a considerable army in the outlying provinces. Gustavus met them with his well trained troops, and subdued the rebellion. A second rebellion among the Dalcarlar was also subdued. The ringleaders on

both occasions were arrested and executed. This was a severe blow to the popish clergy who had heretofore claimed that as spiritual officers they could perform any act with impunity, and were answerable only to the See of Rome.



GUSTAVUS VASA AT VESTERAS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GUSTAVUS VASA. (Continued.)

1521-1560.

Vesteras Synod—Gustavus and Reformation—Riksdag of Vesteras—King's Message—Answer by Clergy and Nobles—Gustavus Offers to Resign Crown—Recess of Vesteras—Gustavus Crowned King—Insurrections—Gustavus' Difficult Position—His Triumphs—War with Lubeck—Crown Hereditary—War with Russia—Success—Treaty of Peace—The Army and Navy—Industries—Intellectual developments—The King and His Character.

Gustavus by this time had begun to take sides openly with the reformers, though at first cautiously. He urged the clergy to introduce the Old and New Testament into the churches and communities under their charge, and to preach the gospel, and not the inventions and fables of popery.

In order that the religious disputes which now agitated and convulsed the Swedish people might be settled for or against the reformation, Gustavus, by the advice of the reformers, called a general Synod or Riksdag at Vesteras, which met on June 15, 1527, and was well attended. There were present the King, councillors of state, bishops and clergy, nobles, burgesses, mine owners and bondes from all quarters of the kingdom. The chancellor read the King's message to the Riksdag, setting forth the condition of the kingdom and the wants of the government, and referred to the wealth of the church and her enormous revenue

and the crown property in her possession which deprived the government of a sufficient income. At the close of the message the King asked "What remedy have you gentlemen to propose?" After a long silence Bishop Brask arose, and said "The church and the clergy are under an obligation to render obedience to the pope in spiritual things, and cannot without his sanction alter doctrines or renounce property rights of the church." The Council and nobles assented to this reply when asked what their opinion was on these subjects.

The King arose, and with great indignation exclaimed: "Then we have no longer any desire to be your King! From you we had expected a different answer. No wonder the common people are always ready to arise in mutiny. We are blamed for famines, for too much sunshine or rain, or for want of it. You are the ringleaders, and all want to be rulers and none to obey. Monks and priests and creatures of the pope you set over our heads. We receive nothing but blame for all our toil and suffering on your behalf. Who would be your King on such terms? Not the worst fiend in hell, much less a man; nor will I be your King. Elect anyone you please, I hereby resign the crown." The King full of emotion burst into tears and left the hall.

Confusion and consternation prevailed. No orderly deliberations could be held. What one proposed others rejected. The clergy stuck to their rights and privileges. So the confusion continued for two days. The majority were in favor of a compromise and so informed the King, but he refused to listen to the committee sent to him. At last the common people threat-

ened that unless the grandees and clergy yielded they would as heretofore side with the King, and compel obedience at the point of the sword. The demands of the King were then acceded to. On the fourth day the King, surrounded by his officers and dignitaries, was with great ceremony escorted to the hall.

The enactments passed by this Riksdag are known as the Recess of Vesteras, and run as follows:—

1. The King shall have power to make use of all the surplus revenues of the monasteries and churches and bishops' castles, and church estates shall be subject to the crown.

2. The nobility shall have restored to them all their property alienated by the church since 1454. (By this enactment the nobility were arrayed on the side of the Reformation.)

3.. The word of God, and not popish inventions, shall be preached in all the churches of Sweden.

Added as an amendment to the Recess are the following ordinances:—

1. The King, and not the Pope, is the head of the Swedish church.

2. All bishops and priests must, like other subjects, be answerable to the properly constituted civil authorities.

These enactments were at once put into force. The bishops surrendered their castles and lands; the monasteries were depleted, and their inmates had to devote themselves to worldly employments. The royal treasury was enriched. The bishops ceased to be members of the Council of State. Their retinues, which sometimes exceeded that of the King, were disbanded. They were reduced nearer to, but not quite near

enough to, the state of their MASTER. Lawrence Petri, one of the early reformers, was by direction of Gustavus elected the first Evangelical Lutheran archbishop of Upsala in 1531.

Gustavus Vasa was crowned King of the Swedes at Upsala in 1528, at which ceremony were collected many of the great nobility, bishops and representatives of the people. The coronation was only a modest ceremonial, for the country had not yet recovered from the protracted war, and the people of many of the provinces were not yet content with the King's authority. The people of West Gothland rose in rebellion against the King's marshal at the instigation of Ture Jensen, who had been appointed governor of that province by Gustavus. The people of Smaland, under the leadership of Mons Brynteson Liljehook, gave the King a great deal of anxiety by resisting the officers appointed to rule over this province.

Of all the insurrectionary movements during this reign the revolt of the West Goths was the only one which was called into activity by the instigation not only of the clergy but of the nobility, yet the lords sought to push forward the bondes and common people, keeping themselves in the background, a sufficient proof that the barons were no longer so powerful as they had been. The energies of democracy were never more vigorous in Sweden than after the massacre at Stockholm had broken the strength of the magnates, and the Riksdag of Vesteras that of the bishops. Gustavus stood in the middle of a turbulent stream of popular force which had burst its bounds. This flood had first raised him to the throne, which for twenty years afterwards it struggled to overturn. His accustomed

mode of action, to go with the torrent when it was about to overpower him, until he should gain firm footing, was dictated to him by necessity, and it must be acknowledged that he well knew how to direct his course amid the dangers that encompassed him.

Seventy years were required for the fruits of the Riksdag of Vesteras to come to maturity in Sweden, and to establish the reformation among the people. It is not, therefore, surprising that at first opinions concerning it were conflicting, and that bitter things were often said about the King as its originator. Of the popular temper at this time the chronicles give the following description:—

"The King might labor as much as he would that they might bear good will to him and his labors, yet it was of no avail. The reason was, that he had so few upright servants with understanding and will to order his affairs for the best, nor could he obtain such before the popish creed was mostly rooted out. Never would the Dalcarlar have been so lightly brought to revolt, nor the West-Gotlanders and Smalanders besides, if they had not cherished a misguided belief that the King wished to suppress the christian faith. With such charges did the old folk, and especially the priests, fill the ears of the common people so that whether the King showed himself mild or harsh it was taken equally ill. If he discoursed pleasantly they cried that he wished to tickle them with the hare's foot; if he spoke sharply, they then said, that for all their taxes and burdens they had naught else to expect from him but reproaches and bad words, and that he would undo them and the whole kingdom. With the provinces which remained quiet it was mostly pretence, for they

did it out of fear, because they heard how he had compelled the Dalcarlar and Norlanders to obedience with a strong hand."

By the end of the year 1532 Gustavus had suppressed the several insurrections within his kingdom; the power of the catholic hierarchy was broken; and of the nobility those who had not gone over to the side of the King had fled the country. Christian II. and his adherents, who in 1531 and 1532 had made a last attempt to conquer his Northern kingdoms, had been utterly routed, and he, by the same treachery which he so often employed in his prosperous days, was taken prisoner.

It was now time for Gustavus to settle the account with Lubeck and the other Hansa cities. Lubeck had for many years secured special commercial privileges from the Scandinavian governments. She had also advanced large sums of money to aid Gustavus in his war against Christian II. The Burgomaster of Lubeck, Wullenwever, an ambitious and unscrupulous man, sought to control the commerce of Sweden, acting very arrogantly. When his demands were rejected Lubeck and the other Hansa cities formed a coalition, and declared war on Sweden. Gustavus took energetic measures instantly, forming an alliance with Denmark for mutual protection; and in a very short time the fleet of Lubeck was defeated by the combined Swedish and Danish navies, and the war terminated. Thus the Hansa lost its commercial supremacy in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

Gustavus Vasa and the Hereditary Settlement.—As early as 1526 the Council solicited the King to choose a consort, that if any sons were born to him they might

be his successors and the kingdom be saved from a civil war. The act of the Hereditary settlement to the throne of Sweden was passed at the Riksdag of Vesteras and dated the 13th of January 1544, whereby the heirs of the body of Gustavus Vasa became by right of inheritance, and not by election as heretofore, entitled to rule over Sweden. This was the final death blow to the presumptuous claims of the Danish Kings to the throne of Sweden and to a restoration of the union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one monarch.

The Russian War.—Gustavus Vasa did not close his reign without a contest with Russia. Ivan VI. Vassiljewitch, the young and ambitious Czar of Russia, sent his army into Finland, where they carried on an uncivilized warfare characterized by indiscriminate destruction of property and the murder of the defenseless inhabitants. The Swedish army was hurried forward to meet the invaders. The Russians, albeit far superior in number to the Swedes, were constantly driven back. The war lasted with varied success for nearly two years, but the arms of Sweden under her able generals, Lars Siggeson Sparre, John Tureson, Gustaf Stenbock, Per Brahe, Svante Sture, Sten Lejonhufvud, and others, finally subdued the Russians and a peace was concluded in 1557 at Moscow which lasted for many years.

Gustavus Vasa, having restored order in all his provinces, repelled all demands and pretensions of the Danish Kings, and humbled the Hanseatic league, devoted himself to the internal improvement of his beloved country.

He began his career by fighting Christian II., and his constant struggle against internal disorders followed by his foreign wars soon began to form the nucleus of a standing army, an institution up to this time unknown in Sweden. Toward the end of his reign he maintained an army of 15,000 enlisted men, besides the nobility who were obliged to serve on horseback, forming a sort of cavalry which was considered more honorable.

In times past the Swedish Vikings, as well as the other Norsemen, had been the terror of the seas; but after the mild and pacific doctrines of Christianity had taken hold on the minds of the people, and the narrow and gloomy walls of the cloister, or the secluded hermit life among the woods and mountains had been shown by the priests to lead to eternal bliss, rather than the warlike, courageous, and daring exploits of the old Vikings which threw open the halls of Valhalla and entitled them to sit down at the feast of the gods, the celebrated dragon ships of the Swedes had almost disappeared from the seas. Now the power of Sweden awoke to new life, and under the masterful mind and guiding hand of Gustavus Vasa looked out upon the world for new fields to conquer. The Swedish fleet was called into existence by the first of the Royal line of Vasa, and wonderful have been the exploits of the Swedes in this method of warfare from that day until the day of John Ericsson's Monitor in American waters, and Nordenskjold's passage in the Vega through the Polar seas.

Not only were the coasts of Sweden protected by the newly created fleet, but the Baltic Sea came under her domination. Fortifications were built wherever

needed, and garrisons placed in them for the security of the realm.

During this reign energetic steps were taken for the building up of a merchant marine. Treaties were made with the continental powers to the advantage of the Swedish merchants. The Swedish flag was seen on every sea, and was respected in the harbors of England, France, Italy, the Americas and the East.

The Swedish mountains, covered with timber and rich in ores of copper and iron, became centers of great activity whence abundant wealth was extracted. The farming industries were encouraged by the wise example of the King, whose income was principally supplied by their produce, added to the cattle and sheep from his own and the crown estates. Skilled mechanics were encouraged to immigrate from Southern Europe, and were well received and cared for.

The universities and schools had been neglected, as the introduction of the reformation at first created great confusion; but when Evangelical Lutheranism had obtained a sure foothold, education was eagerly sought by the young, and was well provided for by the government.

There was no department of the government, nor of the various industries and spheres of human activity, where the guiding hand of this master-mind was not seen and felt. He is therefore by right entitled to the name of "Father of his Country." The many monuments erected during later days at the various places hallowed by his presence and activity testify to the love for him which to-day fills the grateful hearts of the Swedish people.

Gustavus, although belonging to the privileged

classes of noble birth, and descended from a family among whose members are found Kings, administrators, and councillors of state, yet did not consider birth alone as possessing any prerogative to royal favors, offices, or to land-grants. When a complaint was once made to him that many of the sons of bondes or commons had come, by marriage with nobility, into possession of privileged or tax free estates, the King replied: "Trial must be made of everyone's manhood and repute according as the law prescribes, seeing that VIRTUE, INTELLIGENCE, and COURAGE constitute NOBILITY."

Gustavus Vasa died on the 29th day of September, 1560. In the prime of his life he was thus depicted by his sister's son, Peter Brahe. "His stature was that of a man of middle height, something more than six feet. He had a round head, fair hair, a comely, large, long beard, quick eyes, a small straight nose, a well-shaped mouth, ruddy lips, blooming cheeks, his body of a reddish brown, so goodly that not a blemish was to be found on him whereupon a needle's point could be set, strong arms, a full person, neatly shaped hands and feet; in a word, so well-formed and justly proportioned, as a skilful limner at his best might paint a man. He took pleasure in wearing stout raiment, proper for a man and a King, and, however his clothes were cut, they fitted him perfectly well. His complexion was choleric and sanguine; he was of a cheerful, gay, and jovial turn, untroubled and free from scorn; and how many guests soever were found in his halls, he knew how to fit himself to each in converse and discourse as their place required. He kept an honorable and royal court, as well of native as foreign

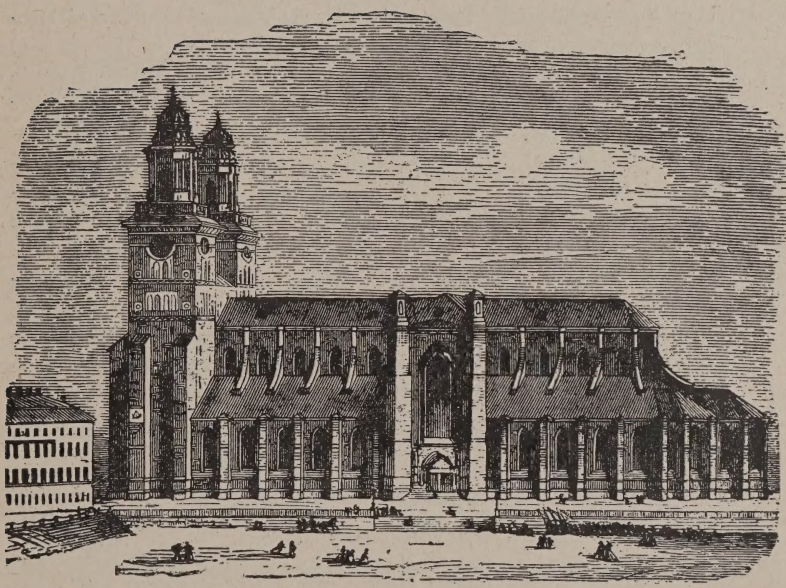
lords and gentlemen, and a decorously ordered drawing room. Daily in the afternoon an hour was appointed, when all the nobles behooved to come to the ball-room. There was the mistress of the household with the ladies, and the King's musicians played to them. Every second or third day the King rode out with his lords and ladies, either to the chase or to take the air, and in pleasure (then yet an innocent word) to pass away the time. Every week he had a fencing-school free to all comers, and kept the young nobles at practice as well in this art as in every other knightly exercise, wherein he himself took great contentment. And whoso in this excelled the others, was requited with an honorable present, whether it were a gold ring or a pearl garland, or to lead the dance with some young lady of the court. To hear music the King took great pleasure, as well with men's voices, as with sweet and delightsome instruments; and he had not only good judgment to give an opinion thereanent, but he was himself an artist both to sing and to play. Among all instruments he held the lute most dear, and there was no evening when he was alone that he did not solace himself with it. Although he was not so deeply versed in bookish studies and the like, for that in early youth he was taken from them to court service, yet his judgment was by nature so sharp-sighted, upon the handiwork of artists of all kinds, images and paintings, portraits, landscapes, buildings, also of the natures of birds, beasts, trees, and roots, that herein he excelled those who had made such things their study. Set he once eyes upon a man fairly, then would he have assurance of knowing him well again, after ten or twenty years' time, and he

could judge of his nature and character by his aspect. He had a supernaturally good memory; what he had heard once or twice he never forgot; where he had once passed by, he never needed again to inquire of the way; and he knew not only the names of the villages, but also those of peasants, if he had stayed there in his youth. Much good luck he had in his days before other men, not only at cards or dice, when he sat down to play, which happened not often, but also in victories and success in his warlike enterprises, with tillage and breeding of cattle, finding of the treasure in the earth, mines, and fisheries of all sorts. His royal castles and manors overflowed with plenteousness. He had likewise the fear of God before his eyes, serving Him with gladness, both at morn and even-tide; and though he rejoiced in the society of fair and engaging dames, yet was he so chaste that he was never brought into scandal for any, nor was it ever said that children were born to him out of wedlock, but he kept himself true to his nuptial vow. In the sum; God had endowed him above his fellows with great ability, high understanding, and many princely virtues so that he was well worthy to bear the kingly sceptre and the crown. For it was not only that he was sagacious and versatile; he was also manly and virtuous, in judgment sharp-sighted and fair, and in many matters tender of heart."

Such was his portraiture, drawn in the bloom of life. With years came seriousness; and in a form worthier of honor than his, age has been rarely seen. We have described him by his actions and the testimony of his contemporaries. Nothing remains to be added, unless to say that in our generation he would have excited still greater wonder by his virtues than by his failings.

In both he belongs to another race than the present; but his life was an example and a landmark for many races and ages.

His remains rest in one of the Chapels of Upsala Cathedral where a suitable monument has been consecrated to his memory by an admiring people.



UPSALA CATHEDRAL A. D. 1500.

CHAPTER XIX.

ERIC XIV. 1560—1568. JOHN III. 1568-1592.

Eric XIV. Inherits the Crown—His Intended Marriage to Elizabeth of England—Proclaimed King—His good Intentions—Improvements in the Judicial System of Sweden—Courts, Immigrations—Gustavus Vasa's Testament Annulled—Eric's Courtships—Karin—Eric's Foreign Policy—Sweden's Success in Livonia Aroused Enmity of Denmark—Naval Battle of Bornholm—Vicissitudes of the War—Naval Battles—Invasion of Sweden—Defeat of the Danes—Eric's Dispute with His Brothers—John made Prisoner—The Stures and other Nobles Imprisoned and Murdered—Conspiracy against the King—Civil War—Defeat of Eric—Abdicates—Imprisoned—His Death—Persson condemned. John III. (1568—1592.) John is Acknowledged King—Empty Treasury—John Inclines to the Romish Church—The Liturgy—Charles' Power and Influence—War with Denmark—Truce—Answer of the Riksdag to Denmark's Demand—War Renewed—Peace—The Cause of War between Sweden and Russia—Czar's Ambassadors—Reval—Success of De la Gardie—The Swedish Generals Restrain the Soldiers—Peace with Russia—Archbishop Gothus—Death of John.

Eric XIV.—On the death of Gustavus Vasa, Eric his eldest son, in accordance with the hereditary settlement, ascended the throne in 1560. Eric inherited from his father, peace with his neighbors, plenty throughout the land, a well-filled treasury, and the good will of the people, which usually falls to the lot of young princes. He was a handsome young man, had been carefully educated, and was well versed in the business of war. In statescraft he was considered proficient, and he made a favorable impression on the foreign ambassadors accredited to his court.

While Gustavus, his father, was lying on his death bed, Eric made great preparations to sail for the British Isles where he intended to propose marriage to Queen Elizabeth of England. He had collected a considerable fleet at Elfsberg, and immense treasures had been taken on board in readiness for his departure, when the news of his father's death reached him. He at once abandoned his proposed journey and returned to Stockholm, where he caused himself to be proclaimed King, on November 30th, 1560.

During the first years of his reign the better side of his nature prevailed; and no one who saw him laying the foundations for many useful institutions, or commencing various internal improvements throughout the country, could foresee that this young man would become a prey to such insane folly and barbaric cruelty, as history must confess that this highly gifted Prince did. The final ending of his life was very unfortunate.

Several appellate courts were organized. A Supreme Court was established, called the King's Highest Court of Judicature. The system of procedure in the inferior courts was remodelled to secure the speedy administration of justice. Eric made his kingdom a refuge for the persecuted protestants, who were compelled to flee from Germany, France and other European countries under the control of the Inquisition. This was a politic policy, for many desirable immigrants found a home in Sweden, and became a very welcome addition to the population of the country.

Gustavus Vasa had by his last will and testament assigned to each of Eric's brothers, John, Magnus, and Charles, separate dukedoms, making them independent

of Eric as King. Eric summoned the Estates to a Riksdag at Arboga, in 1561, at which an enactment called the Arboga Articles was passed, annulling the testament of his father, and reducing the Princes to the position of subjects, their only stipends being the privilege of collecting the revenues derived from their dukedoms, and of appointing inferior officers. Eric was thereupon crowned King at the Cathedral of Upsala, on which occasion large amounts of the treasure gathered by his father were spent on extravagant festivals, shows, and amusements. Several of the grandees were on this occasion given titles of Dukes, Counts, Barons, etc., which laid the foundation for the Riddarhus (House of Lords.)

Eric continued to pay his court to Queen Elizabeth of England through the medium of several special embassies by whom he sent large numbers of rich offerings, jewelry, furs, and other valuable gifts, all of which Elizabeth kept like a sagacious coquette, but she declined his advances when his presents ceased to flow in upon her. His suit having been declined, he paid court to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. But the times were not favorable for such an alliance. He also sent secret missions to other courts of Europe. It appears, however, that it was his own changeable disposition, rather than rejection on their part, which prevented his marriage to any of these Princesses. Eric finally married a young and beautiful Swedish girl of the common people, Karin, the daughter of a a corporal, whom he succeeded in persuading the Council of State to crown as Queen of Sweden; although her children were afterward excluded from the succession to the throne.

Esthonia Becomes a Swedish Province.—Gustavus Vasa had, as far as possible during his reign, avoided being mixed up in the incessant disputes between foreign powers, and, as far as he could, aided in making peace secure among the Northern powers of Europe. Eric XIV. pursued a different course. Ambitious, desirous of conquest, he utilized every opportunity and means in order to extend the borders of his kingdom. Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland were governed by the Teutonic Knights. This order was at the time in a state of decay. The surrounding governments Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, each exerted themselves to annex these territories. Eric sent an army to Reval, which as a stronghold of protestantism had asked the assistance of Sweden, when Russia and Poland had sent their armies to attack and reduce her to subjection.

Reval and Esthonia became Swedish, and here began the bitter conflict between these rival powers, which for years ravaged the countries, causing the loss of many lives and the wasting of immense treasures.

The Northern Seven Years' War.—The success of the arms of Sweden in Livonia, which in 1563 had become a Swedish province, created jealousy on the part of Frederik II., King of Denmark, who feared that the conquests of Sweden would become detrimental to the interests of Denmark. The two governments had each adopted three crowns on the shields of their coats of arms, which was taken to be a claim on the part of both Kings that they were entitled to the crowns of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Eric XIV. began the conflict by restricting the commerce of Denmark

with the Russian ports. King Frederik II. arrested one of the ambassadors of Sweden. The Swedish navy under the command of Jacob Bagge fought a decisive battle with the Danish fleet near the Island of Bornholm. Several of the Danish vessels were sunk, and the remainder fled.

Denmark formed an alliance with Poland and Lubeck. Sweden was now surrounded by enemies. Denmark invaded the Western coasts of Sweden. The Swedish government increased the army by means of new levies. The war continued with fluctuating results. Fortifications were taken and retaken, invasions were repelled, and counter invasions followed in succession.

In 1564 the combined navies of Denmark and Lubeck met the Swedish Admiral Trolle, with a fleet inferior in number, in the Baltic, and now began one of those memorable naval battles which form epochs in the history of maritime warfare. For two days they attacked each other with the most heroic and daring determination. At last the flagship of the Swedish Admiral caught fire, the powder magazine exploded, and the big man-of-war went to the bottom of the sea. The Admiral was rescued from the water with some of his sailors, and they were all made prisoners, but the larger portion of the sailors perished. In 1565 the Swedish fleet, under Admiral Horn, fought a naval battle with the combined fleets of Denmark and Lubeck. He was victorious and drove the enemy from the sea, after having taken the Danish Admiral prisoner. He now threatened Copenhagen and Lubeck, but the approaching winter put an end to the conflict.

The Danish General Rantzau destroyed several

smaller Swedish fortifications, but was at last surrounded by the Swedish army. He succeeded in effecting his retreat, and escaped although pursued by the Swedish army, which attacked him constantly. When he reached his vessels he had only a few stragglers left. The main portion of his army had perished or been taken prisoners.

King Eric's Insanity.—With 1567 arrived King Eric's most unhappy year. He had always exhibited a peculiar and violent temper. After his accession to the throne he acted very arbitrarily towards his brothers John and Charles. John sought in marriage the Princess Catherine Jagellonia, sister of King Sigismund II. of Poland. Eric prohibited John from seeking this alliance, but the King of Poland encouraged it, and took the Duke under his protection. The marriage was consummated. Eric became exasperated and cited John before the Council at Stockholm, to answer for his disobedience. John with his Princess resided at the castle of Abo, Finland, whither Eric sent an army, which surprised John and carried him and his wife Catherine as prisoners to Stockholm, where he was put in the tower, and there lingered for four years. John was then pardoned and released.

Eric's mental malady increased from year to year. He was surrounded by persons of low birth, who constantly prejudiced his mind against his counsellors, the Council, and the great families of Sweden. His greatest favorite was Goran Persson, a corrupt, avaricious and immoral man. This evil genius accused the members of the great patriotic family of the Stures, and several others of the nobility, of a conspiracy to deprive Eric of the throne. The Stures, Sten Lejon-

hufvud, and others were arrested and imprisoned, and brought before the Council. King Eric, either from fear or insanity, acted like a wild beast; he rushed into the prison upon the helpless Nils Sture, a man who had shown himself to be the King's most faithful supporter, and with drawn dagger stabbed the unfortunate nobleman to death. The other prisoners were murdered by his soldiers.

Having accomplished this bloody deed, King Eric rushed out of the prison and for days wandered alone in the woods, his bodyguard keeping at a distance for fear of his wild and savage disposition.

Goran Persson who had encouraged the King to this bloody tragedy by fraud, falsehood and deceit, secured from the Riksdag a resolution to the effect that the victims were traitors, and deserving of death and should be executed, whereupon the Riksdag adjourned. But the victims had been murdered several days before.

The Dukes, John and Charles, as well as the men of station and consequence began to fear for their lives. No one was secure in person or property since without legal proofs, but on suspicion alone, anyone could be found guilty of treason, or of a capital crime.

Under the guidance of the Dukes John and Charles, assisted by Sten Lejonhufvud, who miraculously escaped from the prison, and Pontus De la Gardie, a French nobleman whose family became prominent in the annals of Sweden, a conspiracy was formed against the King who had now lost the affection and respect of the nation.

The Southern provinces of Sweden declared for the Dukes, rose in arms against the King, and a civil war

broke out. Eric at the head of his army, met the insurgents, and at first had the upper hand. Then the Northern provinces also declared for the Dukes, and the King was forced back to Stockholm, where he was besieged. Seeing that his efforts were fruitless, the King negotiated for terms of surrender and his abdication of the crown. Eric was after his abdication kept a prisoner first at the castle of Stockholm, and then removed to Abo and later to Gripsholm, where he was subjected to harsh and cruel treatment. He was finally put to death by poison in 1577. At first he had been permitted to see his wife and children, but this consolation was denied him during the last years of his life.

The Estates assembled in Riksdag decreed the crown to Duke John, and denied the claims of Duke Charles, although he had been the actual soul of the conspiracy. The latter was 18 years of age. Eric's favorite, Goran Persson, who had been the main cause of so much shedding of innocent blood, was condemned to an ignominious death, executed, and buried in the hangman's field.

Eric's wife Karin survived him many years. The state provided her with a fair annuity. One son and a daughter survived him, but they were deemed to have forfeited all right to the throne. Gustavus, his son, spent all the rest of his life in Southern Europe, and died in Russia in needy circumstances.

John III.—In October 1568, when John arrived in Stockholm, he was received by the Council as King. Duke Charles, who had so ably aided in the overthrow of Eric, expected to have a joint share in the govern-

ment, but this was refused by the Estates, who met in Riksdag during January, 1569.

Eric had come to the government at the death of his father Gustavus Vasa to find a full treasury, peace and plenty everywhere—a happy and contented country. Confusion and discontent, and an empty treasury fell to the lot of John when he assumed the responsibilities of sovereign power. John was not the man for so hazardous a position, being vacillating and undecided in character. The country had adopted the reformation, although some of the clergy still favored the Roman Church. John at once rewarded many of the nobility who had helped him to the throne, and immense privileges were granted to them. John's Queen, Catherine of Poland, was a catholic and partly to please her, and partly from his own natural inclination, he favored a return of the Swedish church to catholicism, which action on his part caused considerable strife and dispute among the clergy and the people. John's attempt to introduce the Liturgy, (called the Red Book), into the public worship, made him many bitter enemies among his people. Duke Charles, though he was forced at the coronation of John to renounce all claims to a personal share in the government in favor of King John and his male descendants, was, in fact, by his position as governor in his Duchy, the power behind the throne. Even his disputes with the King made him the more powerful. The historian who follows the course of events during the years of John's reign, finds this influence continually increasing, and is led to wonder that John could keep his place upon the throne, with such a power as Charles by its side.

The war between Sweden and Denmark still persisted. On their revolt against Eric, the Dukes had opened negotiations with Denmark. The Swedish envoys, Gyllenstjerna and Bjelke, had first concluded a truce, and afterwards agreed to conditions of peace, by which they consented that Sweden should renounce all old claims on Danish and Norwegian provinces, should surrender all vessels captured, and refund the expenses of the war.

When King John at the Riksdag of 1569 placed this treaty of peace before the Estates and asked whether they would concede the demands of the King of Denmark, moved to indignation, they answered: "No! But they would give him first, powder, balls and pikes, and then fire and brimstone."

The war was kindled anew, and after many bloody encounters between the Swedes and Danes on land and sea, at the intercession of the Emperor and the King of France, and the Elector of Saxony, peace was concluded between the belligerents in 1570.

The cause which led to the war of Russia with Sweden may to the present generation seem improbable, but other nations than the Greeks and Trojans have been precipitated into bloody wars on account of the fair sex. Ivan, the Czar of the Muscovites, had sought the hand of the Polish Princess Catherine Jagellonia; but Duke John of Sweden was the successful suitor. When John was made a prisoner and put in the tower by his brother King Eric, Goran Persson, as the paid hireling of Ivan offered Catherine a palace and a royal retinue if she would separate from John, her husband; his plan was to send her secretly to the Czar of Russia. Instead of answering, she

pointed to her wedding ring with its Latin inscription "Naught but death," and followed her husband into his appointed prison.

The Czar did not abandon all hope of enticing Catherine away from John, but continued his efforts up to the time when John became King of Sweden. Ivan had sent commissioners to Eric, King of Sweden, to bring Catherine from Stockholm to Russia. On the accession of King John the Russian envoys were present in Stockholm. The popular fury against them rose to such a pitch that they were nearly torn in pieces, but at last they were saved by the personal bravery and interference of Duke Charles, who brought them to a place of safety.

The war of Russia with Sweden was in full flame in the year 1572. The barbaric hordes of Russia overran Finland and Livonia as far as the city of Reval which was besieged. The Swedes indeed succeeded in maintaining their principal garrison at Reval as well against attempts of treachery, as against open assaults, and more than once the town bade defiance to the whole Russian power; while the rest of the surrounding country was subjected to the most appalling cruelties of the Russians under the eyes of the inhuman Ivan, The Terrible. Mutiny among the Scots and Germans in the Swedish service facilitated the success of the savage foe, until a fresh outbreak of war between the Russians and Poles and the Crim Tartars, together with the military success of Pontus de la Gardie, changed the whole face of affairs. This officer, a French nobleman, who was first in Eric's service and afterwards

contributed to his overthrow, was often employed by John in war and negotiations. He was raised to the rank of free baron, married to the King's natural daughter, Sophia Gyllenhjelm, and in 1580 named for the second time general against the Russians. Supported by Henry Classon Horn and his son Charles, who earlier in the Livonian war had gained themselves honorable names, he not only gained back all that Sweden had lost in Livonia, but soon carried his victorious arms across the Russian frontiers. Narva was taken by storm; Ingermanland with its fortresses and Kexholm with its government were reduced. Honor be to King John that he ordered his generals not to retaliate on the unfortunate Russians with cruelties similar to those perpetrated by them. Russow the priest of Reval writes about his unhappy country "Of all the potentates who have occupied Livonia, there is none who has done more for it, than the King of Sweden. Had other Kings and Princes troubled themselves alike therewith, the Muscovites might well have wondered." Even while they were barbarians and under a Czar who was a monster, the Russians began to display the qualities which established their power. They were persevering, self-denying, ready to submit to privations, and would often fight to the last man rather than surrender to the enemy, even if they were unable to escape by flight. Peace between Russia and Sweden was not concluded until after the death of Ivan in 1584.

The reformation of the Swedish church was not yet fully established, and she was to suffer a great loss in the death of her first Lutheran archbishop, who died, advanced in years, in October, 1573. He had

for many years been the main support of Evangelical Christianity, and the spreading of the Gospel among the Swedish people. King John caused a new prelate to be selected, Lawrence Gothus—who was a man of wavering mind and destitute of convictions. During the last years of the reign of John, misunderstandings separated him and Duke Charles from each other. The quarrel that set the brothers at variance was in truth the same which now tore the world asunder. In Charles men saw the upholder of reformation and the work of Gustavus Vasa, and it was in after years, during the reign of Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus, that the Swedish throne was destined to be the stay of Protestantism in Europe.

Sigismund, the only son of King John by his Polish wife, had been elected King of Poland in 1587. King John died in the castle of Stockholm, on the 17th of November, 1592, in his fifty-fifth year.

CHAPTER XX.

SIGISMUND I. 1592—1599. CHARLES IX. 1599—1611.

Sigismund King of Poland Succeeds to the Throne of Sweden—Duke Charles Conducts the Government—By John's Vacillation and Sigismund's devotion to Popery the Crown is Jeopardized—Vasa Throne Established on the Reformation—Upsala Synod or Riksdag—Lutheran Doctrines of the Swedish Church—Approved by Charles—Sigismund Arrives at Stockholm—Grudgingly Confirms the Acts of the Riksdag—Is Crowned King—Conflicts between the Swedes and the Poles—Sigismund leaves for Poland—Sweden wants a Resident King—Charles Summons a Riksdag—Is Elected Administrator—Charles, the Council and Sigismund—Sigismund with a Polish Army Invades Sweden—Is Defeated by the Swedes—A Riksdag Meets and Sigismund Is Deposed—Charles IX. Elected King—Was the People's King—Mental Peculiarities of the Vasas—Superstitions—Dreams and Omens—Convulsions of the Social Fabric—Riksdag at Jonkoping—Trial and Execution of the Nobles Who Sided with Sigismund—The Crown Offered to Charles—Declined until Duke John Became of Age—Legal Maxims—War with Sigismund and Poland—Riksdag of 1602—Terms of Peace—The Council—Peace with Russia—Entry Into Moscow—Stjernskold—Anarchy in Russia—De la Gardie's Victories—Prince Charles Philip Elected Czar of Russia—War with Denmark—Gustavus Adolphus' First Experience in Military Science—Death of Charles IX.—Influence of Charles IX. on the People—Rapid Development of Sweden Socially, Morally and Materially—Schools—Education—History and Literature.

On the death of John III. his son Sigismund, King of Poland, became, by right of succession, King of Sweden. There was some delay before he came over from Poland to assume his new responsibilities, and in the meantime Duke Charles at once undertook the direction of affairs, until the wishes of the King could be made known.

CHARLES IX.

The reign of Sigismund shows us but the final outbreak of those troubles for which the preceding reign must be held accountable. John had been untrue to all those principles by which the house of Vasa had earned such devoted support. This error his son was to atone for by the loss of his crown, which Charles in struggling with the perils that menaced his country, was to win, and thereby to attain to supreme power. Gustavus had founded his edifice on the reformation. If John had already undermined this foundation by his vacillation between the Lutheran doctrine and Catholicism, what might not be feared from a King who was so devoted to the Jesuits, that his father had warned him to beware of them? In Rome too, not a little was expected from his zeal, and the Pope expressed a hope that Sigismund would subdue the heretics in Poland and in Sweden.

Charles had in fact conducted the government of Sweden for the last two years, so it was natural that it should remain vested in him for the present. As John had expired without making any political testament Charles proclaimed a general amnesty, and set at liberty all who had been imprisoned for liturgical or political reasons. The clergy assembled at Stockholm pressed for the fulfillment by the Duke of the promise given by John in 1590, that a Synod should be held for the adjustment of religious disputes. The Duke consented and called a general Riksdag. Religion and freedom, as he said to the Council of State, had been his father's gifts to the country. Out of thankfulness for these, the Estates had made the crown hereditary in the house of Gustavus Vasa, but only he would be a true hereditary King of the realm of Sweden who

should preserve them to the Kingdom. Sigismund, now come to the crown, was subject by conviction to the authority and will of the Pope; it would therefore be necessary for the protection of religion and liberty that the Estates and the Clergy should meet in Riksdag and establish their own status for the future

The Estates met and the Riksdag sitting as a Synod was convened at Upsala on February 25, 1593. The University of Upsala had been steadfast to the reformation, and it was decreed that the University should be encouraged and largely endowed. After several days' discussion it was enacted:

That the Holy Writ explained by itself is the sole basis and the rule of evangelical doctrines for christian faith and practice.

That the three symbols: The Apostolic Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed and the original Augsburg confession contain a short and concise statement of the Christian belief.

The Synod then voted that all the participants should to a man defend these enactments so long as their lives and property lasted.

The Synod of Upsala is always considered, and in fact is, the most important of the religious conventions held in Sweden, for by its enactments symbolical importance was given to the Lutheran confession, and Sweden became henceforth distinctively an Evangelical Lutheran country. So at the close of the Synod the presiding officer exclaimed: "Now has Sweden become one man, and we have all one Lord and one God." On March 20th, 1593, Duke Charles gave his sanction to the enactments of the Synod, and the reformation was once for all established in the land. The

action of the Synod of Upsala, whose memory the Swedish Church celebrates every century, was a great and decisive step. It consolidated the reformation in Sweden, and consequently in Europe. Relations which in the impending strife carried great weight had already been entered upon. Henry of Navarre had written to Charles concerning a "General Protestant League." Closer alliance for mutual protection was sought by the Protestants of Germany, the Netherlands and England.

These proceedings, which were of such importance for the future of Sweden, took place before Sigismund's arrival there. In September, 1593, he arrived at Stockholm with a large retinue of Polish grandees, soldiers and sailors, and was well received by the Duke and the Council of State. He was requested to sanction the enactments of the Synod of Upsala, which as an ardent Catholic he declined to do, until it became manifest to him that he would forfeit the Swedish crown unless he acceded to the demands of the Swedes. He then grudgingly sanctioned the acts of the Riksdag or Synod at Upsala. The same day on which this was done, February 19, 1594, Sigismund was crowned King of Sweden. As he was now King over two kingdoms, whose people differed in religion, in civil polity, customs and laws, apprehension was felt by many thoughtful persons lest this might turn out to be in the future a second unfortunate Calmar Union. During Sigismund's stay in Sweden the relations between his Polish retinue and the Swedes were not always pleasant—the Polish Priests and the Swedish Lutheran Clergy anathematizing each other, and the Swedish civilians and the Polish soldiers coming to blows.

Without making provision for the conduct of the Swedish government, but intending to govern Sweden from Poland, Sigismund departed for the latter country where great disorders prevailed. But as, up to the present time, the majesty of the Swedish realm had by God's help been maintained inviolate and preserved from foreign corruption, so that both country and people enjoyed the blessings of independence, so, now, by God's providence, men were found who would not allow the King's designs to be carried into effect.

Duke Charles and the Estates of Sweden would not consent to being governed from afar. We know the nature of the government which Sweden had under the former union. Magnates temporarily appointed governed despotically, in the name of an absent King, while a turbulent crowd was ready to follow the standard of any patriot who made an effort to sever the relations between the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark. Whether the present union between Poland and Sweden would not be a repetition of former times was a question for serious consideration.

Soon after Sigismund's departure from Stockholm, dissensions arose between the Duke as regent and the Council, the latter attempting to exclude the Duke from a share in the government. Charles summoned the Estates to a Riksdag in 1595, at which he was elected administrator with power to rule the kingdom in the absence of the King. Oaths of allegiance were taken to him. After the adjournment of the Riksdag new disputes arose betwen the Duke and the Council. Sigismund sided with the Council and against the

Duke. A new Riksdag was called, which continued to support the Duke.

It now came to open hostilities between King Sigismund and Charles. The Swedish fleet and a division of the army were stationed in Finland to protect the interests of the King. The other trans-Baltic provinces of Sweden were in danger of being lost. In July, 1598, Sigismund prepared for a second visit to Sweden, but not with the olive leaf and the wand of peace. He embarked with an army of 5,000 Polish troops, and a brilliant court, and landed July 30, 1598, at Calmar. The Council of State declared for the King, and sent troops to his assistance. A civil war was kindled afresh in the country. The two hostile armies met in several battles with varying results. On the 25th of December, 1598, the army of the King met that of Duke Charles at Stangebro, and a bloody battle was fought in which the King's Polish army was routed, over two thousand being left on the field. The Duke offered terms to the King. Several of the councillors and the nobles who had advised the King to invade Sweden with Polish troops were made to suffer for their acts of treason.

The Estates were again summoned to a general Riksdag, to determine whether King Sigismund or Charles was to be the ruler over Sweden in the future. The Estates assembled in general Riksdag at Jonkoping, adjourning later to Stockholm where they met July 24, 1599. They renounced their fealty to Sigismund, and Duke Charles was declared reigning Prince hereditary of the realm. This was the end of Sigismund's power within his paternal dominion. He left for Poland never to return. The long wars

occasioned by the pretensions of this branch of the Vasa family, which had been deposed for the sake of its religion, led the Swedish nation into the path of conquest, rich in honor, and raised it from insignificance to the position of dictator and arbiter in Europe.

Charles IX. of Sweden was the youngest son of Gustavus Vasa; he was born October 4, 1550, and was therefore forty-nine years old when he became King in 1599. He was the only one who had inherited his father's splendid character and extraordinary abilities. Prior to ascending the throne he had gained much experience in political affairs, by taking part, and in fact being the moving spirit, in the revolution which deprived Eric XIV. of the throne, and made John III. King. Charles had governed his duchy for thirty years, and at intervals he acted as administrator of the Kingdom. He had always been closely allied with the bondes or common people against the aristocracy. Before becoming King he had many conflicts with the councillors and the grandees of the realm. He has been called the "Bonde-king."

It is impossible to avoid reaching the conclusion that a strain of insanity ran through the Vasa family, though it was manifested in extraordinary deeds of valour, political sagacity, shrewdness in forming combinations among nations and foresight into future events. Eric XIV., in an hour of wild mania, steeped his hands in the blood of his best friends. John III., in his religious fanaticism, and spurred on by Roman Catholic priests, antagonized his subjects to the danger of the crown. Duke Magnus the Third, son of Gus-

tavus Vasa, of whom very little is known to history, ended his days in an insane asylum. The later members of the Vasa line, as their characters are analyzed, show the same extraordinary peculiarities.

The century now under consideration was a turbulent one. It was the awaking from the long and dreary darkness of Roman Catholicism. The mist and gloom began to lift from men's minds before the light of free thought and discussion, which were facilitated by the printing press. Men's minds were not yet emancipated from superstition, for the human race is naturally inclined to believe in the supernatural. The Swedish historian Geijer relates that Charles IX., just before the Riksdag of Soderkoping in the year 1595, had the following dream. It seemed to the Duke that he sat at table in Reval, and that a Livonian nobleman, Fittinghoff the elder, had placed before him various dishes. When the plates were uncovered he seemed to see in one of the dishes the Swedish arms, and in another a dead man's skull with many bones around it. From this strange dream the Duke forthwith awakened, greatly alarmed; and when his chamberlain, Lubert Kaur, shortly afterwards entered, the Duke told him of the strange dream he had just had, in order that he, as a learned and experienced man, might interpret it.

The interpretation of the dream was in accordance with the spirit of the times, and corresponded to the mournful events which thereafter ensued.

Many omens and wonders appeared to the people about this time presaging dreadful events that were to happen. A rain of blood is said to have fallen in Stockholm before Charles went to Finland. The inhabitants around Linkoping before the battle of

Stangebro saw armies marshaled in the air, rushing upon each other in deadly conflict, and completely annihilating each other. Fleets appeared in the air engaged in battle with one another. It is not asserted that these manifestations actually occurred. These omens may have been ordinary mirages, or peculiar formation of the clouds. But whatever explanation may be given of them it is certain that anxiety and unrest filled men's minds and that danger, misfortune and calamities were looked for at an early date.

Since Sweden was settled, and as far back as history goes, the community had scarcely ever been so shaken to its deepest foundations, as in the convulsions which overthrew the last fragments of Catholicism, and wrested the crown from Sigismund. By the connivance of several of the members of the Council, the clergy who favored the Catholic church endeavored to suppress the work of the reformation, and to restore the older faith and thereby bring the status of the country back to the times of Christian the tyrant. In the year 1600 the Estates were summoned by Charles to a Riksdag at Jonkoping, which met March 3, 1600. His object was to try the arraigned lords of the Council who had already been imprisoned for over a year. The Court consisted of 153 judges, selected from the nobility, officers of the army and navy, burghers and commons. The indictments charged the accused with having plotted against the Duke's honor and life and at last brought foreign armies against their country. Several of the accused fell on their knees confessing their guilt, and were pardoned. Eric Sparre, Turre Bjelke, Gustave and Sten Baner maintained their innocence and defended themselves, but were proven guilty

and condemned; they were shortly afterwards executed. These severe measures of Charles against men of the highest rank, wealth and prominence, some of them related to the royal family, made an impression on the community unfavorable to the Duke, while they struck terror and dismay into the ranks of his enemies. Many expressed disapproval of his severity, and asked "Are we going to be subjected to another Christian the tyrant?"

From a careful study of the condition of the times, and the documentary evidence bearing on the conduct of the members of the Council, and men in other high positions of State and Church, it is evident that there existed a violent disease which could not be cured except by the most heroic remedies.

The Estates at the Riksdag offered the crown to Charles. His conscientious scruples caused him to decline so long as Duke John, the second son of King John III., had not attained his majority and in his own right resigned the crown.

The object of Charles' struggles against the grandees had for years been to uphold the succession of the crown, and to prevent the same from becoming elective, a plaything in the hands of the nobles. Charles, who had for a long time been the ruler, possessed full governing power after Sigismund's flight. Could a government only have been founded on what may be termed a fictitious base none had ever been better prepared. But history shows that settled legal maxims are of more importance to a nation for its stable government and prosperity, than to individuals. Rare are the examples in which an encroachment on these legal maxims has not left

enduring effects upon a nation which has permitted them with impunity. Charles adhered strictly to the principle ascribed to Elizabeth of England;—"Whoso lays hands on a Prince's sceptre grasps a firebrand which must destroy him; for him there is no grace."

Sweden became involved in war with Poland, whose forces, under Sigismund's direction, invaded Swedish Livonia. Charles made strenuous efforts to conclude a peace, but Sigismund, having forfeited the Swedish crown, exerted himself to despoil her provinces. Charles returned after having passed through the trans-Baltic provinces to familiarize himself with the condition of the common people whom he cherished with the consideration of a father. He convoked a Riksdag at Stockholm in the summer of 1602, and laid before the Estates for their consideration the following view of foreign affairs. "The Swedes have three neighbors—the Danes, the Poles and the Russians. With the Danes they may live in peace if the former be permitted to assume the three crowns, are given free trade and nothing is said of their past misbehavior. With the Poles, they may be at peace by yielding to the demand for the restoration of certain places in Livonia. Russia's good will may be obtained by surrendering Narva and Reval, but when she has secured these, her avarice will call for more." Neither Charles, who had always favored conquest, nor the high spirited and warlike Estates, would accept friendship and peace except on the most honorable terms.

At this Riksdag the Council (the members of which were the King's advisers) was reorganized. Twelve lords, of whom the five oldest filled the highest offices

of the State, i. e., Steward, Marshal, Admiral, Chancellor and Treasurer, remained in residence at the capital.

The war between Poland and Sweden continued during 1604 and 1605. Charles collected a considerable army and sailed for Livonia. Several battles were fought—the fortunes of war being against the Swedes—and Charles came at one time near being taken prisoner, his horse having been killed under him. Poland did not derive any advantage from these battles on account of the internal troubles between the many divisions of the country.

Wars with Russia and Denmark.—It seemed impossible to establish peace with Poland, so Charles IX. determined to form an alliance with Russia, which was also at war with Poland. Charles made a treaty with Vasieliewitz Schuisky, Czar of Russia, by which he bound himself to cede to Sweden Kexholm with its district. A Swedish army was placed under command of Jacob De la Gardie, a young but promising general. At the head of little more than 4,000 men De la Gardie and Evert Horn advanced to Moscow, defeated the Poles and delivered the Czar who was beleaguered in his own capital. The Swedish generals at the head of the victorious army made a triumphal entry into Moscow. The war was prosecuted by the Swedes with renewed vigor for several years, both parties obstinately refusing to yield. The Swedes were often unsuccessful but they distinguished themselves by individual acts of the highest knightly valour which foreshadowed the brilliant days of Swedish military glory. In 1609 the commander Nicholas Stjernskold was long besieged in Dunamunde by the Poles. The Polish Gen-

eral Chodkewitch called upon Stjernskold to surrender, threatening, if he refused, that revenge would be taken upon his wife and children. Stjernskold made answer: "God is my witness that I would willingly offer my life for theirs, but they belong to me and the fortress belongs to my King." Would that it could be related that the same heroic spirit had possessed certain Swedish officers 200 years later. Then the Baltic would very likely today have been a Swedish Mediterranean.

Russia became a prey to contending factions, and several of her elected rulers were assassinated. Sigismund with his Poles again invaded Russia. The army of the Czar commanded by the Swedish generals consisted mostly of foreign levies. The Czar failed to pay the troops and they in the presence of the enemy refused to obey and mutinied. De la Gardie and Horn made a wonderful retreat through a hostile country to the Swedish frontier.

During these troubles in 1611 the Swedish arms were covered with glory. De la Gardie made himself master of Kexholm, took Novgorod by storm, and concluded a convention by which the Russians agreed to acknowledge a Swedish Prince, Charles Philip, as their Grand Duke. These tidings first reached Charles on his death bed.

While the Swedish arms were covered with glory and advanced far into Russia, Denmark under her young and ambitious King Christian IV. began hostilities against Sweden. Charles had built fortifications at the mouth of Gota River and there laid out the city of Gothenburg which with its magnificent harbor on the Atlantic coast increased so rapidly in importance that it was plain this city was destined to become

one of the principal ports of Sweden. The Danes had with apprehension and jealousy watched the rapidly rising power of Sweden and her influence on the affairs of Europe. The health of Charles began to fail, though his mind was as clear and resourceful as ever. He was ably seconded by his son, the sixteen year old Gustavus Adolphus, who in the approaching war with Denmark received his first lessons in military tactics. The Swedish and Danish armies met near the city of Calmar, where they entrenched themselves. The young Gustavus Adolphus with a division of the Swedish army made an extended flank movement and fell upon the rear of the Danes, whereby he secured the Danish commissariat and treasure. The commandant of the castle of Calmar proved a traitor to his country and opened the gates of the castle to the Danes. It was now late in the season of 1611. The contending armies withdrew and went into their winter quarters, while Charles and the young Gustavus Adolphus returned to Stockholm. On the way, Charles was taken suddenly sick and died at Nykoping, October 30, 1611.

The Internal Administration of Charles.—It has fallen to the lot of few rulers to accomplish so much for their country and to reform the internal administration so successfully as Charles IX. did during the unsettled and turbulent times of his reign, short though it was. He brought order out of chaos. In the various branches of the administration, the work begun by his father, the energetic Gustavus Vasa, was continued by his youngest son, Charles IX., after his older brothers had during the interval neglected it. The life of Charles was too short to carry to completion all his

plans. But he was accustomed to refer to his promising son, Gustavus Adolphus as the one who was to finish his work by the words, "Ille faciet" (he will do it).

Charles did not act arbitrarily in his reforms. Every important question was submitted to the representatives of the people—the Estates were convened to meet in Riksdag, and under free discussion enact laws for the welfare of the realm. Charles carefully prepared his propositions and submitted them for the consideration of the Riksdag. He had generally the commons on his side, who by this time began to outweigh the nobility in importance. He brought about great improvements in the administration of justice by a revision of the old Lands-law, and having it printed and freely distributed throughout the land. He made frequent journeys through the country, and any extortion or injustice committed by the officers charged with the administration of justice was severely punished.

Charles IX. was prudent and economical in his management of the finances; he regulated the mints, and established the value of the currency. He also encouraged manufacturing. The mining industries, however, were the object of his special solicitude. This industry he considered to be of the greatest value to the Swedish people, for the exportation of minerals counterbalanced very largely the imports of the country.

A chain of fortifications was erected on all the frontiers. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the Dutch, French and German powers against Spain and Austria in anticipation of the out-

break of the war which was to last more than a generation.

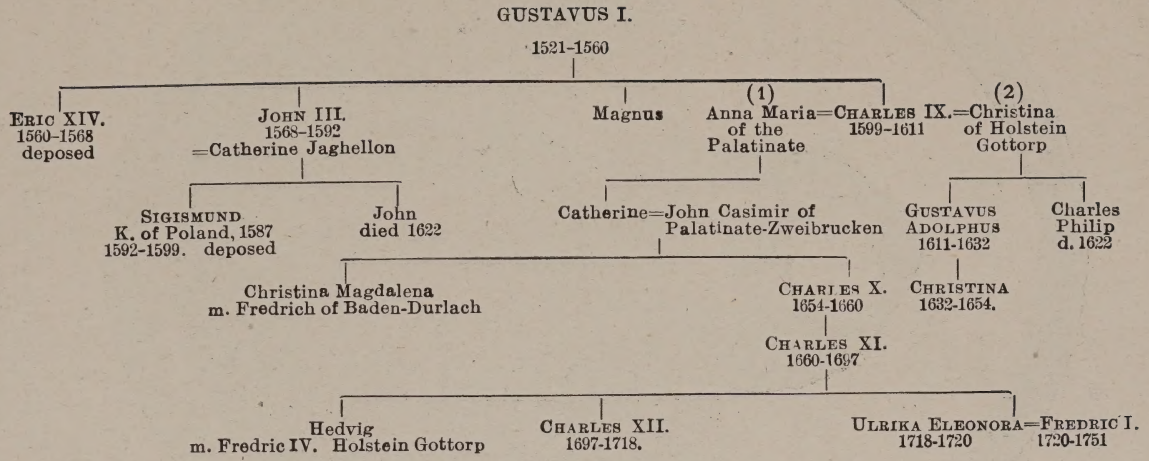
Charles was a highly educated Prince and encouraged the intellectual and spiritual development of his people by endowments of the Upsala University and other gymnasiums and the extension of parochial schools. He encouraged men of letters by appointing them to self-supporting offices, and generously rewarded their efforts.

Anxious that the truth concerning his father's and his own rule might be preserved for future generations, the King ordered a history of Sweden down to the end of his reign to be written. "The historian must write truth," he says in his Rhyme Chronicle. It is with pleasure that we dwell upon the achievements of the youngest and the greatest of the sons of Gustavus Vasa. He was unyielding to his enemies, but he was loyal to his friends. He was liberal and tolerant in his religious views. In his testament he especially recommends to his children friendship with the evangelical Princes of Germany. Thus in the soul of Charles perchance more than in any of his contemporaries glowed the sparks of the fiery future, which burst into flames during the Thirty Years' War. If Charles IX. had not prepared Sweden, she might not have produced the glorious Gustavus Adolphus and other renowned heroes. Such men there are, full of the spirit of the hereafter, who with or without their own will and intent carry a nation forward at their side. Except his father, no man before him exerted so deep an influence on the Swedish people. More than a hundred years passed away, and a like personal influence was still reigning on the throne of Sweden. The nation,

hard to move, except for immediate self-defense, from the close of the Viking age down to the present, was borne along unwilling and yet admiring, repugnant yet loving, as if some spark of the old Asa faith were still burning in their breasts and as if they were drawn by some potent impulse, following Gustavus and Charles to victory, fame and even to the verge of perdition.

Charles IX. was twice married; first to Maria of Palatine, a union which was blessed with one daughter, Catherine, who became the wife of John Casimir, and the ancestress of the Swedish Royal House of Palatine, of whom more will be told later.

His second wife was Christina of Holstein Gottorp by whom he had two sons, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles Philip, and a daughter, Maria Elizabeth.



GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF VASA IN THE 16TH, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER XXI.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS.

1611—1632.

Gustavus Adolphus' Early Years—Education—Military Genius—Title as King—Unsettled Condition of Sweden—Swedish Magna Charta—The Riddarhus—The Four Estates—Gustavus a Constitutional Monarch—His Frequent Consultations with Riksdags—Resources for the Support of the Government—Resources of the Country and Industries—Departments of the Government—The Administration of Justice—Upsala University and Gustavus—Danish War—Unfavorable Treaty of Peace—Russian War—De la Gardie's Victories—A Swedish Prince Elected Czar of Russia—Treaty of Peace Repudiated by Gustavus—War Renewed—Peace and Boundaries—The Polish War—Romanism and Protestantism in Opposing Camps—Sigismund's Claim to the Crown of Sweden—Rejects Offer of Peace—Gustavus and the Polish War—Victories—Negotiations for Alliance with the Protestants—Invasion of Poland—Progress of the War—The Emperor Aids Sigismund—Thirty Years' War in Germany—Poland and Turkey—Gustavus Takes Courland and Livonia—Campaign in Poland—Denmark in the Thirty Years' War—Six Years' Armistice between Sweden and Poland.

King Gustavus II. Adolphus was born at the Royal Palace of Stockholm, on December 9, 1594. In his early youth he accompanied his father Charles IX. on his various journeys through the kingdom. John Skytte and Otto Moerner were selected as the young Prince's tutors, the former being a highly educated scholar and diplomat, the latter marshal to King Charles, a widely traveled gentleman, a man of culture and a distinguished soldier. The Prince was only ten years of age when he was brought into the

AXEL OXENSTJERNA.

Council by his father, that he might familiarize himself with the routine of the government. He was obliged to be present at audiences and embassies, and thus to make himself acquainted with the weighty affairs of State. Sweden being at this time at war with her neighbors and a truce having been concluded between the Netherlands and Spain, many officers flocked thither from Germany, England, France, Scotland, the Netherlands and even Italy and Spain as the best place to seek their fortunes.

The young Prince, therefore, not only received theoretical instruction from his tutors, but, by contact with many eminent men of all European nations, acquired an education practical in its bearings, and cosmopolitan in character. Their discourse about wars, sieges, discipline, military tactics, manoeuvres, fortifications and battles by land and sea as well as ships and navigation so aroused and encouraged the mind of the young Prince, that he spent much of his time in the company of these distinguished persons and expressed a desire to emulate the heroes of other nations, and if possible to excel them.

During his early years he gained an accurate and fluent knowledge of many foreign languages, which he spoke and wrote readily. When Gustavus had attained his sixteenth year he was invested with knighthood with great state and ceremony; henceforth he wore a sword and was placed in command of the guard. He was then made Grand Prince of Finland, and Duke of Estland and Westmanland with right to govern the same. When the war broke out between Denmark and Sweden, in 1611, he, with a separate division of the army, showed his ability as a commander by the

destruction of Christianople, the principal Danish arsenal in Scania, and the reconquest of Oland, both of them notable achievements, and the most fortunate victories during this war. Calmar would have been saved but for the treason of its commandant. The Swedes at this time defended their walls by men, not their men by walls.

Gustavus Adolphus became King shortly after the death of his father. The Queen Dowager, Duke John, son of King John, and the Council of State governed for two months afterwards, until Dec. 10, 1611, when the Estates met in Riksdag in Nykoping, and on December 17, Duke John renounced all claims to the crown. On the 26th of December, in the presence of the Estates, Gustavus Adolphus assumed the government of his father committed to his charge under the style and title of "Elected King of Sweden and Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths and Vendes." He was then in the first month of his eighteenth year. His friend and chancellor, Axel Oxenstjerna, was twenty-eight years old.

Sweden was in an exhausted condition. She had enjoyed no peace since the reign of Christian II. Insurrections had raged within, and wars without, two Kings had lost their crowns, the throne was stained with blood, many of the prominent men of the land had been led to the block or been banished, fear and discontent prevailed among the people, the mighty were a law to themselves—such was the condition of the kingdom when the crown was placed upon the head of this young Prince.

The Royal Accession Oath or warrant given by Gustavus Adolphus may be called the Swedish Magna

Charta. Although the oath required of the King had been embodied in the Lands-law many centuries before this time, nevertheless, that now taken by Gustavus contains divers exact definitions and limitations mainly giving express confirmation to certain principles sanctioned by law, as follows:—

1. No one shall be condemned upon mere allegation, without knowing the accuser or being brought face to face with him before the court.

2. The King shall insure to all orders and persons their due respect and to all officers their proper dignity, and shall degrade none from his office unless lawfully empowered so to do.

3. No new law or tax shall be imposed upon the people except by the consent of the Riksdag.

4. War, peace, truces, and alliances shall not be made except by consent of the Riksdag.

The nobility acquired enlarged privileges during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus for which he in turn demanded special services from them. He granted a charter to the councillors of state and the nobility to erect the Riddarhus, a house for the barons in Stockholm. The charter provided that the whole baronage in Sweden and Finland should be enrolled and divided into three orders. The first consisted of counts and freeborn; the second of descendants of councillors of state; the third of all others who served for their freeholds. Every family was to have an armorial seal. Each class was assigned its position at the meetings and its manner of voting. The Riddarhus became one of the Estates—the first of the realm; the second Estate consisted of bishops and clergy, the third of the burgesses from the cities, and the fourth of the com-

mon folk, the odalmen—the bondes or landholder classes.

Gustavus Adolphus from the first day of his rule until the day of his death acted as constitutional monarch, abiding by the law as enacted by the Riksdag. Botvidi in delivering the funeral oration over the lamented King said:—"Gustavus Adolphus received his kingdom with empty hands, yet deprived he no man of his own by violence; but what the necessities of the realm required, that he let the people know on their days of free assemblage, that they might consider the matter, and give tribute to the crown according to its need." History must bear witness to the undying renown of this great man, who during all his struggles in peace and in war refrained from violence and illegal means of collecting taxes and subsidies for his many internal improvements and the carrying on of his great wars against foreign foes. Riksdags were frequent, Gustavus, like his father, ruling in abiding harmony with the Estates of the realm whom he consulted on domestic policy, as well as on home government and the conduct of foreign affairs. This confidential relation existing between the ruler and his subjects accounts in a large measure for the great admiration and love with which the Swedes regarded their King. They supported him with their money and their lives, marched with him cheerfully and bravely in all his battles, and have revered his memory since his death.

The resources of the country, when it was plunged into these wars, were not commensurate with the demands made upon them; all classes were heavily burdened with levies and taxes.

The resources for the support of the government were:—

1. Loans. The government borrowed money at a high rate of interest on the security of the taxes paid by certain provinces, or the right to collect the duties of certain ports.

2. Sale and hypothecation of the Crown lands, being mortgages of the Crown estates with authority to collect the rents thereof for certain periods.

3. Monopolies:—by which the government either directly or by farming out to companies, levied contributions from the trade and commerce of the country.

A large amount of imposts and duties were collected in kind, in produce and in manufactured goods. On account of the scarcity of coin, the government, in order to dispose of the stock, was compelled to maintain general warehouses and salesrooms as well as officers charged with the disposal of such revenues.

The favorable situation of Sweden and its many industries are well described by William Uselinx, a native of Holland, who was a promoter of the South Sea Company and a favorite of the King, from whom he had obtained the right to enroll subscribers for the stock in all parts of Sweden.

"The Kingdom of Sweden," he says, "has many advantages above other countries in seaports, timber, victuals, copper, iron, steel, pitch, tar, shot and other munitions of war; the wages of labor are reasonable, and the workmen and mechanics are of the best. The inhabitants of the land are a hardy folk who can endure cold and heat, are docile, active, and quick. They are also obedient to their rulers, and little inclined to-

wards sedition and revolt, wherein they excel many other nations and peoples. They want for nothing, if they would but exert themselves to become expert seamen; for they do not lack intelligence, dexterity, and courage. From olden times they have been good ship-builders and they are handy with the axe. In respect to the manufacture of fine linen, cloth, worsted, baize, bombazine and so forth, not much is produced except for house use, partly for want of material and partly because there is no outlet for disposing of such wares. But of skill and shrewdness they have plenty, for we find peasants apt at all sorts of handiwork. They are carpenters, joiners, smiths, bakers, brewers, weavers, dyers; they make shoes and cloths and the like, wherein they surpass all other nations of Europe. Their wives and daughters make many curious devices in sewing, weaving and other arts, whence it appears that they are very skillful and wise-minded."

The natural capacity which the Swedes possessed, was during this age especially directed to warlike ends, but this warlike spirit stimulated their energies to take up many other industries. The wars opened up new countries. The armies had to be supplied with all sorts of accoutrements, provisions, and supplies, thus making a market for the industries at home.

The several administrative departments of the State had not been up to this time clearly defined, but under the directing hand of Oxenstjerna, who selected able and educated men, the various branches of the government were reorganized and order was brought out of chaos.

The judiciary had always had an independent existence, but suitors and aggrieved persons had been

accustomed to seek assistance from the King by presentations of petitions and memorials instead of having recourse to the legally constituted judiciary tribunals; whereby the King was continually burdened, when there was ample provision and redress for them in the courts. At the Riksdag of Orebro, in 1614, the King proposed that a Supreme Court should be established at Stockholm and another at Abo in Finland, consisting of fourteen members learned in law, which should be a court of appeal from the lower tribunals. What benefit these courts have been to the nation all residents of the country, high and low, rich and poor, can testify. The judges were paid by salaries and not by fees. In their instructions and oath of office they were reminded of the old law dating back to the heathen days, that they must be no respecters of persons, that they must well consider each case and the equity thereof and that, if they took bribes, the ancient penalty would be inflicted, namely, "the skin would be taken from the judge's back and nailed to the bench as a warning for others."

The turbulent times of over three quarters of a century had affected the education of the country. The professors at Upsala instead of devoting themselves exclusively to the education of the young men committed to their charge, were spending their time in controversies and disputes;and with students divided into hostile factions, open disorders, fights and bloodshed were frequent.

This state of affairs came to the ears of the King. He wrote to the professors that if it were not that he appreciated the value of education he would annul the charter of the University and dissolve the school.

He reorganized the staff of professors, removed certain of them, able men, to other spheres of usefulness, and appointed new ones. He endowed the University of Upsala liberally out of his paternal estate with three hundred and fifty manors to remain in its possession forever, besides tithes of certain provinces, pastoral charges for the theological professors, and several scholarships and aids of various kinds for needy students.

He established a medical department at the University, fully endowed, for the benefit of a profession formerly neglected. Smaller academies and schools were established in large numbers throughout the land.

The Danish, Russian and Polish wars.—Gustavus Adolphus was not destined to spend his days in peace and leisure. The pleasures of youth were early exchanged for the serious work of life. Wars with Denmark, Poland, and Russia he inherited from his father. Gustavus at once directed all his efforts to securing peace with Denmark. A long stretch of country on the western coast of Sweden was in reality a province of Denmark. Even the forts and castles of Elfsborg and Calmar were in the possession of the Danish King. The war was carried on with much cruelty and destruction of property. The two Kings, both of them young and ambitious, directed the movements of their troops in person. Christian IV. determined to conquer Sweden; Gustavus Adolphus determined to save the fatherland, if possible, and drive the Danes beyond the Sound.

The war continued with fluctuating fortunes until at last the Swedes were in the ascendant and Christi-

an IV. agreed to a peace which was signed in the small mountainous village of Knarod in the province of Halland, on January 19, 1613. Denmark was left in the possession of the Swedish west coast provinces, Halland, Scania and Bleking.

Many have wondered that the Swedes, after so many signal victories, at this time yielded to the Danes and let them remain in possession of these provinces, cutting thmselves off for so long from the Atlantic ocean and seeking extension of territory in Germany, Poland and Russia instead, and the question has been asked:—After Gustavus Adolphus became master of Germany, why did he not reconquer the southern provinces of Sweden and drive Christian IV. out? The historian finds an answer in the peculiar conditions of the times which was not favorable to such an enterprise. Sometimes what cannot be obtained by a frontal attack, is more easily gained by flank movements. This course was pursued by the Swedish Kings and generals in respect to Denmark, but it took about fifty years to bring about the desired result. Both countries desired peace and Sweden in particular. She was at war with Russia in which she had one army under command of Jacob De la Gardie. Another army was stationed in eastern Poland to check the advances of Sigismund, who still laid claim to the Swedish crown. Peace with Denmark was a necessity for Sweden that she might have her hands free in the east.

War with Russia.—Fortunately for Gustavus Adolphus and Sweden, Poland had been inactive during the war with Denmark; but with Russia hostilities had been conducted with great vigor by the Swedes.

Jacob de la Gardie in command of the Swedish army defeated the Russians in several pitched battles and conquered Ingermanland, Novgorod and the whole of Northwestern Russia. He then, without consulting the King or the Swedish government, concluded a treaty of peace by which Charles Philip, the younger brother of Gustavus Adolphus, was elected Czar of Russia. Gustavus Adolphus not having been consulted on so important a subject as the treaty of peace and the placing of his brother as ruler over a turbulent and at that time half-civilized people, would not ratify the treaty until he should appear in person on the frontier and meet the Russians. On account of the delay in ratifying this treaty the Russians in the meanwhile elected Michael Romanoff to be their Czar. Under the leadership of this young prince they regained courage and the war broke out afresh. Gustavus Adolphus and Evert Horn arrived with several regiments and the Swedes were victorious all along the line. The war continued until 1617 when a treaty of peace was agreed to at Stalbova. Sweden retained Carelia, Kexholm and Ingria with all fortifications on a line running from north to south. All other Russian provinces conquered by Sweden were surrendered to Russia. The boundary of Sweden on the East was defined by this treaty, signed Feb. 17, 1617, and Russia had no longer an outlet through the Baltic to the West of Europe. An armistice having been concluded between Sweden and Poland, the former now secured a short interval of peace which she could devote to the internal welfare of an exhausted country.

The Polish War. 1618—1629. Since the beginning of the reformation, Europe had been divided into two

hostile camps, the Catholic and the Protestant, and although the original dispute was religious at the time, it was not long before this division took on a political aspect, and the struggle was transferred from one place to another by these powerful factions. At first it was a dispute between the priests, who hurled their anathemas against each other, but as protestantism was accepted by the Princes and by whole States, those Princes who adhered to catholicism were spurred on by the See of Rome to take up arms against the heretics. The contest between Poland and Sweden in part had its origin in this religious division. Sigismund lost the Swedish crown on account of his being a catholic, and Sweden protestant. He was now encouraged in his claim to the Swedish crown by Austria and Spain, who sent him subsidies and soldiers, and he was waiting for a Spanish fleet from the Netherlands to help him against Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the protestant Netherland Republic; friendly relations existed between England, the Hansa Cities, and the Protestant States of Germany, who formed what was called the Evangelical Union in order to thwart the Roman Catholic League, formed for the purpose of crushing out protestantism. At the head of the Evangelical Union at this time stood Prince Frederik Palatine, while Maximilian of Bavaria directed the forces of the Catholic League. War broke out between the powerful parties in 1618 when the protestants of Bavaria elected Frederik of Palatine King. This was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Gustavus Adolphus had from the outset been negotiating with the Evangelical Union, but these negotiations were

discontinued when in 1620 the protestants were defeated by the Catholic League at Prague, and the latter became masters in Southern Germany.

Sigismund of Poland and the Turks were now engaged in a bloody conflict. Gustavus Adolphus in vain offered terms of peace to Sigismund, for the latter contemptuously rejected them. In the summer of 1621, Gustavus Adolphus with a well equipped army sailed from Sweden and arriving in Livonia besieged the City of Riga. The investment continued for nearly a month during which the city defended itself desperately, only to be taken by storm in the end. The King with his army entered the city and treated the inhabitants with great consideration. Livonia accepted the Swedish King and swore him fealty. He conquered Carelia, driving the Polish army from one stronghold after another and putting garrisons in the cities and castles. His fame as a successful general spread over Europe, and many soldiers seeking fortunes in war rushed to his standard. He was invited by the protestants of Germany to become the leader of their cause against the victorious Catholic League. Gustavus Adolphus consented to assume the now desperate protestant cause on condition that Holland and England would give their support and that the chief command and direction of the war be placed in his hands. This plan fell through because Christian IV. of Denmark having with a jealous eye watched the rising star of Gustavus Adolphus, determined to prevent the latter from undertaking such a vast enterprise, which might completely overshadow him and Denmark. So the latter hastened to the assistance of the German protestants, concluded an alliance with them and the Count Mans-

field, and opened war on the Emperor and the Catholic League. Gustavus watched the progress of the war from a distance, and pursued his subjugation of Poland and Livonia. The Poles were defeated in several pitched battles and finally at the battle of Wallhof on January 7, 1626, Gustavus was in undisputed possession of Courland and Livonia. He now prepared plans for another campaign. He determined to carry the war into East Prussia, which under Polish suzerainty belonged to the Elector of Brandenburg, Gustavus' own brother-in-law. But in war everything must yield to the necessities and exigencies of the times. Firstly, Gustavus was determined to strike Poland in her most vital spot so as to compel Sigismund to agree to peace; secondly, he desired to be closer to the scene of the war now being waged in Germany between the Emperor and the protestants. Having augmented the number of his native and foreign troops, he sailed on June 15, 1626, with 150 ships and an army of 13 regiments of foot soldiers and 9 squadrons of cavalry, anchored at Pillau on the 26th of June, and took the city; thereupon he sent his troops to Dantzig; stormed the fortifications, put the Polish garrison to rout, and quartered his soldiers in the suburbs. After the city had received the King he continued his campaign in Poland during the year 1627 where victory continued to crown his efforts. Sigismund in some of these campaigns was present personally, and directed the operations. but he was continually defeated by the Swedes. Even after continuous reverses he could not be prevailed upon to accept terms of peace. These many battles fought by Gustavus Adolphus in Poland gave him an experience in warfare whose value was incalculable.

It was a preparatory school which he passed through fitting him for the great operations which he was soon to undertake and direct in Germany against the greatest captains of the age, Tilly, Wallenstein, and others.

But while he continued to reap laurels in Poland, often at the risk of his life, the cause of the protestants under the direction of Christian IV. of Denmark was becoming desperate. The imperial army under command of Wallenstein defeated Mansfield and the protestants. Christian of Denmark and his allied troops were routed by General Tilly. The clouds of war rolled northward and Denmark was near extinction. The danger was also threatening Sweden, for the Emperor was plotting against her, so Gustavus now sought to form a new coalition between the several protestant rulers, but since the imperial troops had scattered the German protestants, the latter were not in a condition to make much further resistance. Through the intercession of France, an armistice of six years' duration between Sweden and Poland was signed at Altmark, Sept. 16, 1629, when the territory of each belligerent was defined.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER XXII.

GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS. (Continued.)

1611—1632.

Gustavus Adolphus and the Riksdag—Resolved to carry on the War in the Enemy's Country—Preparations—Army and Navy—Number of Troops—Gustavus Presents his Daughter to the Riksdag—The Farewell—The Departure—Landing on the Shores of Pomerania—Advances—Retreat of the Enemy—Discipline of the Swedish Army—Treaties with Hansa Cities and with France—Magdeburg in Peril—Indifference of the Protestants—Fall of Magdeburg—The Horrors Enacted—Tilly and His Barbarity—Germany Turns to Gustavus for Help—His Proclamation—Trials—Saxony Invaded by the Imperialists—The Electors—George of Saxony—Forms Alliances—Gustavus and Duke Weimar—Battle of Breitenfeld—The Swedish Army—The Imperialists—Tactics of Gustavus—Tilly and Pappenheim—Formation of the Armies—The Battle—The Victory of Gustavus—The Dead and Wounded—The Battle marks an Epoch—Germany lay Open to Gustavus—Recruits His Army—Tilly's New Army—Wallenstein in the Field—March of Gustavus—Battle of Lutzen—Position of Wallenstein's Army—Position of the Army of Gustavus—The Battle—Fall of Gustavus—Fury Seized upon the Swedish Troops—Wallenstein Defeated—Pappenheim Killed—The Swedes Hold the Field—Recovery of the King's Body—The Swede-Stone—The Suspicions against Francis Albert—Appearance and Character of Gustavus—The Opinion of Historians on the Loss by Gustavus' Death—Axel Oxenstjerna in Power.

Gustavus Adolphus Takes Part in the Thirty Years' War.—Gustavus Adolphus did not take an active part in the Thirty Years' War until he had consulted the Estates of Sweden in Riksdag. This was done on different occasions. As early as June 29, 1629, the Riksdag had passed a resolution that "The King might

carry on the war as far as possible from the borders of Sweden and lay its burden on the enemies' country." The participation of Sweden in the war was already determined upon. The King continued his preparations with great activity and vigor. Several new regiments were raised, provisions and materials for war were collected, and a light artillery was organized and equipped, quite contrary to the then prevailing custom, which proved very efficacious during the German war. Ships and transports were collected from all parts of the country to carry the army from Sweden over the Baltic to the shores of Germany. In May 1630 the ships of war were ordered to be ready in the harbor of Stockholm. The transports assembled in the harbor of Elbsnabben. The fleet consisted of twenty-eight vessels of war, large and small, besides a large number of merchant ships and boats. The strength of the army is not definitely stated, probably on account of its limited numbers. There were ninety-two companies of foot and sixteen of horse, besides excellent artillery—in all about 15,000 men. The cavalry and artillery were wholly Swedish, the infantry about one-half, the balance being made up of Germans and Scots.

On May 19, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus summoned before him the Estates assembled in Riksdag and presented to them his young daughter, Christina, then hardly four years old, as the heiress of his kingdom, and commended her to their fidelity and honor. He took a moving farewell of them, declaring that the war was not undertaken for personal glory or selfish motives, but for the relief of the oppressed of their own faith, and because of the danger threatening the realm from

the Emperor, who was besieging Stralsund and, unless quickly checked, would soon attack Sweden. The occasion was one of great solemnity and the assemblage was moved to tears. The government at home was entrusted to the Council of State. On the 30th of May, the King embarked on the fleet which was divided into four squadrons. On midsummer day 1630, the King anchored off the little Island of Ruden near the mouth of the Oder. After some reconnoissance the army was landed on Usedom. The King was the first to set foot on shore, fell on his knees in fervent prayer, and then took spade in hand and with the soldiers began to dig entrenchments while part of the army was drawn up in order of battle. But no enemy was in sight. His first object was to gain a footing in Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Bogislaus, Duke of Pomerania, was accordingly compelled to join his cause and the imperial garrisons were driven out of the minor towns during the winter of 1631 with little resistance. Torquato Conti, the imperial stadtholder of Pomerania, unable to resist the advance of the Swedes, retreated, burning the towns and laying the country waste. Tilly showed no anxiety to meet them. Pappenheim was not near enough to oppose them, but wreaked his vengeance upon the princes in sympathy with Sweden. The advance of Gustavus was rapid and one city after another in Pomerania as well as the free Hansa cities opened their gates to him. To the capture of Stettin succeeded that of Damm and Stargard by a secret understanding with the burghers, who welcomed the Swedes as liberators. The rigorous discipline of the soldiery awakened no less astonishment than did the personal attributes of the King.

A treaty was meanwhile concluded at Baarwald between Gustavus and the French Monarch who promised him subsidies and aid on account of the lukewarmness of the Lutheran princes. Gustavus, owing to their selfishness, was on the point of making terms with the Emperor and returning to Sweden, when Gustav Horn brought him considerable reinforcements from Finland and Livonia.

Magdeburg was being besieged by the imperialists, and urgent requests were sent to Gustavus by the beleaguered citizens begging him to come to their relief. But the German Princes had so far not declared themselves allies of the Swedes; on the contrary the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony convened a council of princes at Leipzig in which they sought to persuade the princes of Northern Germany, both Lutherans and Calvinists, to maintain a status of armed neutrality and await the course of events in order to turn them to their own advantage.

The Fall of Magdeburg.—Gustavus did not dare to leave his base of operations and march into the enemy's country. His appeal to the protestant Electors to save Magdeburg failed. The citizens of that ill-fated city meanwhile performed prodigies of valor. Falkenberg, an old veteran, was sent by Gustavus to take command in the town. He eluded the imperialist's trenches and was admitted into the city where great disorder and distress prevailed. Many citizens were imperialists and kept up communications with the enemy.

Tilly at the head of an immense body of troops closely invested the walls of the city and, despite a desperate defense by the citizens,took all the outworks.

During the night of May 20, 1631, whilst Falkenberg in a council was opposing the imperialists who insisted upon capitulating, several breaches were made in the defenses, and the imperialists under Pappenheim poured into the streets and filled the city. Falkenberg rushed to the defense and was shot. The citizens fought with desperate courage until overwhelmed by numbers. The soldiers spared neither age nor sex. The slaughter was indiscriminate. Every man in the city was killed, women were outraged, children were thrust through and thrown into the flames. Many women threw themselves into the Elbe or into the burning houses to escape the brutality of the soldiers. Women kneeling in prayer in the churches were beheaded by the Croats. One hundred and thirty seven houses and the fireproof cathedral in which four thousand men took refuge were all that remained of this proud and beautiful city. The rest of the inhabitants had fallen victims to the sword or to the flames. On May 22 Tilly appeared and restored discipline and order. This grim warrior, a tall haggard looking man dressed in a short green satin jacket with a long red feather in his high-crowned large-brimmed hat, peering with large bright eyes from beneath his shaggy brows and wearing a bristling mustache on his deep-furrowed face with its mephisto nose,—a gastly, hollow cheeked, wild and fantastic-looking apparition,—sat mounted on a large bony charger, and viewed what remained of Magdeburg, proudly regarding the ruin and devastation his soldiers had made, and the thirty thousand bodies of brave citizens, now cold in death, which at his command were thrown into the Elbe. The river was choked up by this mass of

corpses, and terrible was the result upon the surrounding country of the decomposition of the dead bodies. The news of this disaster filled Gustavus with rage, and all Christendom shuddered at such savage brutality. The protestants were panic-stricken, fearing that the same horror would befall themselves, unless the imperialists were checked in their fiendish career. All Germany now turned to Gustavus and his Swedes for help in the hour of despair.

To learn whether the protestant armed neutrality was a fact or not, Gustavus marched upon Berlin and, stationing himself sword in hand before the gate, demanded from the Elector George William a definite declaration. The Elector was the brother-in-law of Gustavus. Ten years earlier Gustavus had won his bride against the wishes of her brother, who would rather have bestowed her hand upon Vladislaw, the rival of Gustavus. The Elector being slow in answering on account of division among the citizens, the Swedish Monarch offered him the alternative of his alliance or the reduction of Berlin to a heap of ashes, whereupon the Elector yielded and a Swedish garrison was placed in the city. The period from the destruction of Magdeburg to the victory at Leipzig, that is to say the Summer of 1631, is beyond doubt the most trying time which Gustavus Adolphus spent in Germany. He could not come to the aid of that unfortunate city and yet the failure to do so was laid to his charge. He defended himself by a proclamation setting forth the reasons and circumstances which detained him, located as he was in the enemy's country. However, many of the citizens of the smaller towns flocked to his standard, and he made considerable head-

way against the imperialists. John George, Elector of Saxony, wavered for a long time, but the imperial army invaded his country and several hundred burning villages and the demands of his protestant subjects changed his mind and he hastened to join the Swedes. Eighteen thousand Saxon troops were placed under the command of Gustavus. The Land-grave of Hesse-Cassel and Duke Bernard of Weimar also formed an alliance with him.

The following excellent account of the Battle of Breitenfeld is taken from Schiller's Thirty Years' War:

"Immediately upon the close of the treaties, the King crossed the Elbe, and next day joined the Saxons. Instead of preventing this junction, Tilly had advanced against Leipzig, which he summoned to receive an imperial garrison. In hopes of speedy relief, Hans Von der Pforta, the commandant, made preparations for his defense, and laid the suburb toward Halle in ashes. But the ill condition of the fortifications made resistance vain, and on the second day the gates were opened. Tilly had fixed his headquarters in the house of a grave-digger, the only one still standing in the suburb of Halle; here the capitulation was signed, and here, too, he arranged his attack on the King of Sweden. Tilly grew pale at the representation of the deaths' head and cross-bones with which the proprietor had decorated his house; and contrary to all expectations, Leipzig experienced moderate treatment.

Meanwhile, a council of war was held at Torgau between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony, at which the Elector of Brandenburg was also present. The resolution which should now be adopted was to decide irrevocably the fate of Germany and the

protestant religion, the happiness of nations and the destiny of their princes. The anxiety of suspense which, before every decisive resolve, oppresses even the hearts of heroes, appeared now for a moment to overshadow the great mind of Gustavus Adolphus. "If we decide upon battle," said he, "the stake will be nothing less than a crown and two electorates. Fortune is changeable, and the inscrutable decree of Heaven may, for our sins, give the victory to our enemies. My kingdom, it is true, even after the loss of my life and my army, would still have a hope left. Far removed from the scene of action, defended by a powerful fleet, a well-guarded frontier, and a war-like population,it would at least be safe from the worst consequences of a defeat. But what chances of escape are there for you, with an enemy so close at hand?" Gustavus Adolphus displayed the modest diffidence of a hero, whom an overwhelming belief of his own strength did not blind to the greatness of his danger; John George exhibited the confidence of a weak man, who knows that he has a hero by his side. Impatient to rid his territories as soon as possible of the oppressive presence of two armies, he burned for a battle, in which he had no former laurels to lose. He was ready to march with his Saxons alone against Leipzig, and attack Tilly. At last Gustavus acceded to his opinion; and it was resolved that the attack should be made without delay, before the arrival of Tilly's reinforcements, which were on their way, under Altringer and Tiefenbach. The united Swedish and Saxon armies now crossed the Mulda, while the Elector returned homeward.

Early on the morning of the 7th of September, 1631,

the hostile armies came in sight of each other. Tilly, who, since he had neglected the opportunity of overpowering the Saxons before their union with the Swedes, was disposed to await the arrival of the reinforcements, had taken up a strong and advantageous position not far from Leipzig, where he expected he should be able to avoid the battle. But the impetuosity of Pappenheim obliged him, as soon as the enemy were in motion, to alter his plans, and move to the left, in the direction of the hills which run from the village of Wahren towards Lendenthal. At the foot of these heights his army was drawn up in a single line, and his artillery placed upon the heights behind, from which it could sweep the whole extensive plain of Breitenfeld. The Swedish and Saxon army advanced in two columns, having to pass the Lober near Podelwitz, in Tilly's front.

To defend the passage of this rivulet, Pappenheim advanced at the head of two thousand cuirassiers, though after great reluctance on the part of Tilly, and with strict orders not to commence a battle. But, in disobedience to this command, Pappenheim attacked the vanguard of the Swedes, and after a brief struggle was driven to retreat. To check the progress of the enemy, he set fire to Podelwitz, which, however, did not prevent the two columns from advancing and forming in order of battle.

On the right, the Swedes drew up in a double line, the infantry in the center, divided into such small battalions as could be easily and rapidly manoeuvred without breaking their order; the cavalry upon their wings, divided in the same manner into small squadrons, interspersed with bodies of musketeers, so as

both to give an appearance of greater numerical force, and to annoy the enemy's horse. Colonel Teufel commanded the center, Gustav Horn the left, while the right was led by the King in person opposed to Count Pappenheim.

On the left, the Saxons, formed at a considerable distance from the Swedes, by the advice of Gustavus, which was justified by the event. The order of battle had been arranged between the Elector and his field-marshal, and the King was content with merely signifying his approval. He was anxious, apparently, to separate the Swedish prowess from that of the Saxons, and fortune did not confound them.

The enemy was drawn up under the heights towards the west, in one immense line, long enough to outflank the Swedish army, the infantry being divided in large battalions, the cavalry in equally unwieldly squadrons. The artillery being on the heights behind, the range of its fire was over the heads of his men. From this position of his artillery it was evident that Tilly's purpose was to await rather than attack the enemy; since this arrangement rendered it impossible for him to do so without exposing his men to the fire of his own cannons. Tilly himself commanded the center, Count Furstenberg the right wing, and Pappenheim the left. The united troops of the Emperor and the League on this day did not amount to thirty-four thousand or thirty-five thousand men; the Swedes and Saxons were about the same number. But had a million been confronted with a million it could only have rendered the action more bloody, certainly not more important and decisive. For this day Gustavus had crossed the Baltic to court danger in a dis-

tant country, and expose his crown and life to the caprice of fortune. The two greatest generals of the time, both hitherto invincible, were now to be matched against each other in a contest which both had long avoided; and on this field of battle the hitherto untarnished laurels of one leader must droop forever. The two parties in Germany had beheld the approach of this day with fear and trembling; and the whole age awaited with deep anxiety its issue, and posterity was either to bless or deplore it forever.

Tilly's usual intrepidity and resolution seemed to forsake him on this eventful day. He had formed no regular plan for giving battle to the King, and he displayed as little firmness in avoiding it. Contrary to his own judgment, Pappenheim had forced him to action. Doubts which he had never before felt struggled in his bosom; gloomy forebodings clouded his ever-open brow; the shade of Magdeburg seemed to hover over him."

When the Swedish lines were ready for action, the King rode in the front until reaching the center, where he reined in his horse, with the left hand he took off his hat, the sword in the right he lowered to the ground, and with a loud voice offered the following prayer: "Almighty God, Thou who holdest victory and defeat in the hollow of Thine hand, turn Thine eyes unto us Thy servants, who have come from our distant homes to fight for freedom and truth and for Thy gospel. Give us victory for the honor of Thy holy name. Amen." The King thereupon raised the sword and waving it over his head commanded: "Forward in the name of the Lord!" The King's voice was heard over the army, and all were inspired by his example

and confident of victory. The battle cry was "God with us."

A cannonade of two hours commenced the battle; the wind, which was from the West, blew thick clouds of smoke and dust from the newly-ploughed and parched fields into the faces of the Swedes. This compelled the King insensibly to wheel Northwards, and the rapidity with which this movement was executed left no time to the enemy to prevent it.

Tilly at last left his heights, and began the first attack upon the Swedes; but to avoid their hot fire, he filed off towards the right, and fell upon the Saxons with such impetuosity that their line was broken, and the whole Saxon army thrown into confusion. The Elector himself retired to Eilenberg, though a few regiments still maintained their ground upon the field, and by a bold stand saved the honor of Saxony. Scarcely had the confusion began ere the Croats commenced plundering, and messengers were despatched to Munich and Vienna with the news of the victory.

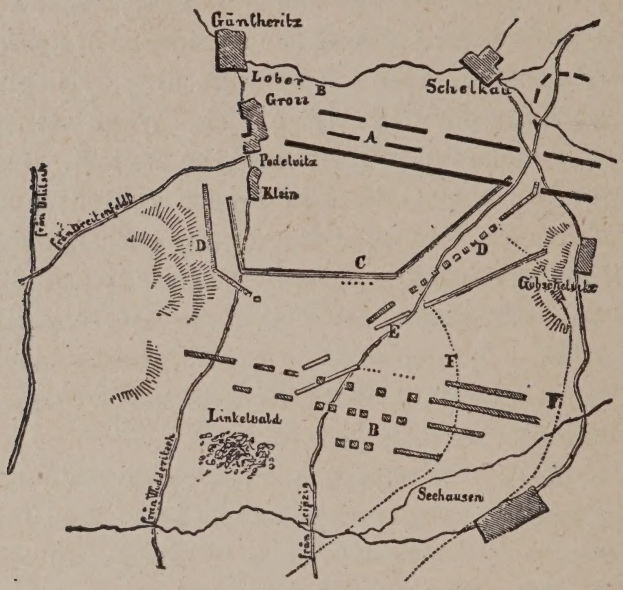
Pappenheim had thrown himself with the whole force of his cavalry upon the right wing of the Swedes, but without being able to make it waver. The King commanded here in person, and under him General Baner. Seven times did Pappenheim renew the attack, and seven times was he repulsed. He fled at last with great loss, and abandoned the field to his conqueror.

In the meantime, Tilly, having routed the remainder of the Saxons, attacked with his victorious troops the left wing of the Swedes. To this wing, the King, as soon as he perceived the Saxons were thrown into disorder, had, with a ready foresight, detached a reinforcement of three regiments to cover its

flank, which the flight of the Saxons had left exposed. Gustav Horn, who commanded here, showed the enemy's cuirassiers a spirited resistance, which the infantry, interspersed among the squadrons of horse, materially assisted. The enemy were already beginning to relax the vigor of their attack, when Gustavus Adolphus appeared to terminate the contest. The left wing of the Imperialists had been routed; and the King's division, having no longer any enemy to oppose, could now turn their arms to wherever it would be to the most advantage. Wheeling, therefore, with his right wing and main body to the left, he attacked the heights on which the enemy's artillery was planted. Gaining possession of them in a short time, he turned upon the enemy the full fire of their own cannon.

The play of artillery upon their flank, and the terrible onslaught of the Swedes in front, threw his hitherto invincible army into confusion. A sudden retreat was the only course left to Tilly, but even this was to be made through the midst of his enemy. The whole army was in disorder, with the exception of four regiments of veteran soldiers, who never as yet had fled from the field, and were resolved not to do so now. Closing their ranks, they broke through the thickest of the victorious army, and gained a small thicket, where they opposed a new front to the Swedes and maintained their resistance until night, when their number was reduced to six hundred men. With them fled the wreck of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided. The accompanying plan of the battle of Breitenfeld will assist in illustrating the various positions of the armies during and after the close of the battle.

BATTLE OF BREITENFELD.



EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAM.

A. The Swedish army formed in line of battle ready to advance.

B. The Imperial army drawn up in line of battle awaiting the advance of the Swedes.

C. The position of the Swedish army and the formation made during the battle.

D. D. The Imperial army's position during the battle. Pappenheim commanding the Imperial left, on advancing to attack the Swedish right wing and the flank becomes separated from the Imperial centre—then the King ordered up the Swedish reserve—the rectangle was formed on the right as shown on the plan. Pappenheim's cavalry being broken, the Swedes advanced to the hill where they seized Tilly's artillery at Linelvald and turned it on the Imperialist flank, raking their whole line, D, center and right wing.

E. Shows the advance position of the Swedes at the close of battle.

F. The retreat and flight of the Imperial army.

Amid the dead and the wounded, Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees; and the first joy of his victory gushed forth in fervent prayer. He ordered his cavalry to pursue the enemy as long as the darkness of the night would permit. The pealing of the alarm-bells set the inhabitants of all the neighboring villages in motion, and utterly lost was the unhappy fugitive who fell into their hands. The King encamped with the rest of his army between the field of battle and Leipzig, as it was impossible to attack the town the same night. Eleven thousand of the enemy were killed in the field, and more than five thousand either wounded or taken prisoners. Their whole artillery and camp fell into the hands of the Swedes, and more than a hundred standards and colors were taken. Of the Saxons about two thousand had fallen, while the loss of the Swedes did not exceed seven hundred, among whom were Teufel, Hall and Dannitz. The rout of the Imperialists was so complete that Tilly, on his retreat to Halle and Halberstadt, could not rally above six hundred men, or Pappenheim more than one thousand four hundred, so rapidly was this formidable army dispersed which so lately was the terror of Italy and Germany.

Tilly himself owed his escape merely to chance. Exhausted by his wounds, he still refused to surrender to a Swedish captain of horse, who summoned him to yield; but who, when he was on the point of putting him to death, was himself stretched on the ground by a timely pistol-shot. But more grievous than danger or wounds was the pain of surviving his reputation, and of losing in a single day the fruits of a long life. All former victories were as nothing, since he had

failed in gaining the one that should have crowned them all. Nothing remained of all his past exploits but the general execration which had followed them. From this period he never recovered his cheerfulness or his good fortune. Even his last consolation, the hope of revenge, was denied to him, by the express command of the Emperor not to risk a decisive battle.

The disgrace of this day is to be ascribed principally to three mistakes; his planting the cannon on the hills behind him, his afterwards abandoning these heights, and his allowing the enemy, without opposition, to form in order of battle. But how easily might these mistakes have been rectified, had it not been for the cool presence of mind and superior genius of his adversary the King of Sweden.

Tilly fled from Halle to Halberstadt, where he scarcely allowed time for the cure of his wounds before he hurried towards the Weser to recruit his force by the imperial garrisons in lower Saxony.

The Elector of Saxony had not failed, after the danger was over, to appear in Gustavus' camp. The King thanked him for having advised a battle; and the Elector, charmed at his friendly reception, promised him, in the first transports of joy, everything on the German soil. Gustavus set out next day for Merseburg, leaving the Elector to recover Leipzig. Five thousand Imperialists, who had collected together after the defeat, and whom he met on his march, were either cut in pieces or taken prisoners, of whom again the greater part entered into his service. Merseburg quickly surrendered; Halle was soon after taken, whither the Elector of Saxony, after making himself

master of Leipzig, repaired to meet the King, and to concert their future plan of operations.

The battle of Breitenfeld was an epoch in war, as it was an epoch in history. It was an epoch in war as military science was greatly advanced. Gustavus' military tactics, that of rapid movements of his brigades proved superior to solid and unwieldy columns. It was an epoch in history because it broke the backbone of the Roman Catholic League and saved protestantism in Germany, thereby giving religious and civil liberty to the world.

Now that the Imperial army was scattered, large numbers of the soldiers flocked to the Swedish banner. The whole of Germany was open to Gustavus and it seemed as if nothing could prevent him from marching straight on to Vienna.

This signal victory was hailed with delight by the protestants. The power of the house of Hapsburg was broken, and the Catholic League was shaken. Gustavus had two courses open to him, either to march to Vienna or to secure himself in the Southwest and protect the protestants there. He chose the latter and was everywhere hailed with delight by the populace as the savior of Germany. Tilly had collected a new army. The army of Gustavus was recruited by the forces of several German Princes. A battle was fought at Lech where Tilly and Maximilian had intrenched themselves. This battle proved fatal to Tilly who was mortally wounded and died a few days later.

On the death of Tilly, owing to the rapid advance of the Swedes and the threatening aspect of Hungary, where a new leader, Rakoczy, had

arisen, all seemed lost to the imperialists. The Jesuit and Spanish intrigues could not prevent the Emperor from again asking help of Wallenstein who had been living in disgrace on his estates. He accepted the command of the armies but on the condition that he should be supreme and independent. His demand was granted.

Wallenstein had now gained his purpose. In a short time he was at the head of an army of sixty thousand men. The Swedes were strongly intrenched near Nuremberg, with sixteen thousand men. Re-inforcements arrived, but the two armies were wary of attacking one another. For three months they watched each other until sickness and starvation made inroads on their numbers. Both armies broke up without a battle.

The Battle of Lutzen.—Gustavus, in hope of carrying the war into Bavaria and the Catholic States, marched southward. Wallenstein took his course northward. Gustavus with rapid marches returned and followed the course of Wallenstein, until the two armies were in close proximity to the place of Tilly's former defeat.

The battle of Lutzen commenced early in the morning of the 6th of November, 1632. Gustavus would scarcely have ventured on a battle had he not learned that Pappenheim with his corps was at a distance. A thick fog, that lasted until eleven o'clock, delayed the action and gave Pappenheim time to reach the field before the close of the battle. Wallenstein was the first on the ground and had taken possession of the road and prepared the ditches to form breast works for his musketeers. His infantry were drawn up in

squares flanked by cavalry and guarded in front by the ditches, which were defended by artillery.

Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the plain opposite and formed his troops in the order of attack. His disposition was the same as that which had been so successful the year before at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig. Small squadrons of horse were distributed among the divisions of the infantry, and troops of musketeers placed here and there among the cavalry. The army was arranged in two lines, having the canal on the right and in the rear, the high road in front, and the town of Lutzen on the left. In the center the infantry were drawn up under the command of Count Brahe, the Cavalry on the wings, the artillery in front. To Duke Bernard was entrusted the command of the German cavalry on the left wing; while on the right the King led on the Swedes in person, in order to excite the emulation of the two nations in a noble rivalry. The second line was formed in the same manner; and behind these was placed the reserve, commanded by Henderson, a Scotchman.

Gustavus appeared mounted, wearing no armor on account of a slight wound he had received at Dirschaw, and rode in front of the ranks encouraging his troops to deeds of valor. Kneeling in front of his lines, the King offered up his devotions, and the whole army, dropping at the same moment on their knees, sung a morning hymn accompanied by the military music.

The fog now began to lift and the two armies stood in full view of each other, ready for action. The King gave orders to attack: "Forward in the name of the Lord. Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! Let us vindicate to-day

the honor of Thy Holy Name!" Brandishing his sword over his head, he charged the ditch at the head of his men; the infantry crossed and seized the battery, which they turned against the enemy. They pressed forward with irresistible impetuosity; the first of the

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

five brigades of the imperialists was routed, as was the second soon after, and the third put to flight. Wallenstein appeared and reformed the ranks; supported by three regiments of cavalry, the vanquished brigades

went again to the attack and fell upon the broken ranks of the Swedes. A murderous conflict ensued. The nearness of the adversary left no room to use fire-arms and the fury of the attack no time for loading: it was a hand to hand conflict with sabre, pike and musket; science gave way to brute strength. Overpowered by numbers the Swedes retired beyond the trenches only to renew the attack.

In the meantime the King's right wing led by himself in person fell upon the enemy's left. The shock dispersed the Poles and Croats placed here by Wallenstein. Their flight created terror and confusion among the ranks of the imperialists. Report came to the King that his infantry were retreating over the trenches and that his left wing exposed to the enemy's cannon was beginning to give way. The King directed General Horn to pursue the fleeing left wing of the enemy, while he hurried at the head of the cavalry regiment of Stenbock to repair the disorder of his own left. His noble charger brought him with the velocity of lightning across the trenches ahead of the squadrons who could not follow, and his shortsighted vision brought him too close to the enemy's line. His horse was shot in the neck, and another shot broke his left arm. He requested his adjutant to carry him off the field, but on turning around he was shot in the back by an imperial officer. He fell from his saddle only to be dragged along for a distance. Gustavus, who still lived, fell into the hands of the cuirassiers. His German page refused to tell his master's rank and was mortally wounded. The King was stripped. On his exclaiming, "I am the King of Sweden!" they attempted to carry him off but a charge of the Swedish

cavalry compelling them to flee, the last Cuirassiers as they rushed past shot him through the head.

The sight of the King's charger covered with blood galloping through the ranks with an empty saddle, brought dismay and terror to the troops and was a sign of the fate of their Royal Master. Wrath and vengeance filled the hearts of the Swedish soldiers, and they rushed upon the imperialists time and again, until the latter were thrown into confusion. Wallenstein was carried with them; driven from the field he fled across the mountains of Bohemia. Night put an end to the conflict and the Swedes and their allies were left in possession of the field, which was strewn with corpses. Pappenheim was mortally wounded and died the next day. Many officers of high rank had fallen in the battle, and more than nine thousand men lay dead on the ground.

Victory had again crowned the Swedish arms; but it was a dear conquest, a dearer triumph! It was not till the fury of the conquest was over that the full weight of the loss sustained was felt, and the shout of triumph died away in a silent gloom of despair. He who had led them to the charge returned not with them; there he lay upon the field which he had won, mingled with the dead bodies of the common crowd. After a long and almost fruitless search the corpse of the King was discovered, not far from the great stone, which, for a hundred years before had stood between Lutzen and the canal, and which, from the memorable disaster of that day, still bears the name of the Stone of the Swedes. Covered with blood and wounds so as scarcely to be recognized, trampled beneath the horses' hoofs, stripped by the rude hands of plunder-

ers of his ornaments and clothes, the body of the Great Gustavus was drawn from beneath a heap of Swedish and imperialistic dead, showing the desperate nature of the fight that had taken place, and it was then conveyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of his soldiers and the last embraces of his Queen. The first tribute had been paid to revenge, and blood had atoned for the blood of the monarch; but now affection assumes its rights, and tears of grief must flow for the man. The universal sorrow absorbs all individual woes. The generals, still stupefied by the unexpected blow, stood speechless and motionless around his bier, and no one trusted himself enough to contemplate the full extent of their loss.

The Emperor, we are told by Khevenhuller, showed symptoms of deep and apparently sincere feeling at the sight of the King's doublet stained with blood, which had been stripped from him during the battle and carried to Vienna. "Willingly," said he, "would I have granted to the unfortunate Prince a longer life, and a safe return to his kingdom, had Germany been at peace." But when a trait, which is nothing more than a proof of a yet lingering humanity, and which a mere regard to appearances and even self-love would have extorted from the most insensible, and the absence of which could exist only in the most inhuman heart, has, by a Roman Catholic writer of modern times and acknowledged merit, been made the subject of the highest eulogium, and compared with the magnanimous tears of Alexander for the fall of Darius, our distrust is excited of the other virtues of the writer's hero, and what is still worse, of his own ideas of moral dignity. But even such praise, whatever its amount, is

much for one whose memory his biographer has to clear from the suspicion of being privy to the assassination of a King.

It was scarcely to be expected that the long leaning of mankind to the marvellous would leave to the common course of nature the glory of ending the career of Gustavus Adolphus. The death of so formidable a rival was too important an event for the Emperor not to excite in his opponent a ready suspicion that what was so much to his interests was also the result of his instigation. For the execution, however, of this dark deed the Emperor would require the aid of a foreign arm, and this it was generally believed he had found in Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. The rank of the latter permitted him a free access to the King's person, while it at the same time seemed to place him above the suspicion of so foul a deed. This Prince, however, was in fact not incapable of this atrocity, and he had moreover sufficient motives for its commission.

Francis Albert, the youngest of four sons of Francis II., Duke of Lauenburg, and related by his mother's side to the race of Vasa, had in his early years found a most friendly reception at the Swedish court. Some offence which he had committed against Gustavus Adolphus in the Queen's chamber was, it is said, repaid by this fiery youth with a box on the ear; which, though immediately repented of, and amply apologized for, laid the foundation of an irreconcilable hate in the vindictive heart of the Duke. Francis Albert subsequently entered the imperial service, where he rose to the command of a regiment, and formed a close intimacy with Wallenstein, and condescended to be

the instrument of a secret negotiation with the Saxon court which did little honor to his rank. Without any sufficient cause being assigned, he suddenly quitted the Austrian service, and appeared in the King's camp at Nuremberg to offer his services as a volunteer.

By his show of zeal for the protestant cause, and prepossessing and flattering deportment, he gained the heart of the King, who, warned in vain by Oxenstjerna, continued to lavish his favor and friendship on this suspicious newcomer. The battle of Lutzen soon followed, in which Francis Albert, like an evil genius, kept close to the King's side and did not leave him till he fell. He owed, it was thought, his own safety amidst the fire of the enemy to a green sash which he wore, the color of the Imperialists. He was at any rate the first to convey to his friend Wallenstein the intelligence of the King's death. After the battle he exchanged the Swedish service for the Saxon; and, after the murder of Wallenstein, being charged with being an accomplice of that general, he only escaped the sword of justice by abjuring his faith. His last appearance in life was as commander of an Imperial army in Silesia, where he died of the wounds he had received before Schweidnitz. It required some effort to believe in the innocence of a man who had run through a career like this of the act charged against him; but, however great may be the moral and physical possibility of his committing such a crime, it must be allowed that the evidence imputing it to him is circumstantial and not positive. Gustavus Adolphus, it is well known, exposed himself to danger, like the meanest soldier in his army, and where thousands fell he too might naturally meet his death. How it reached

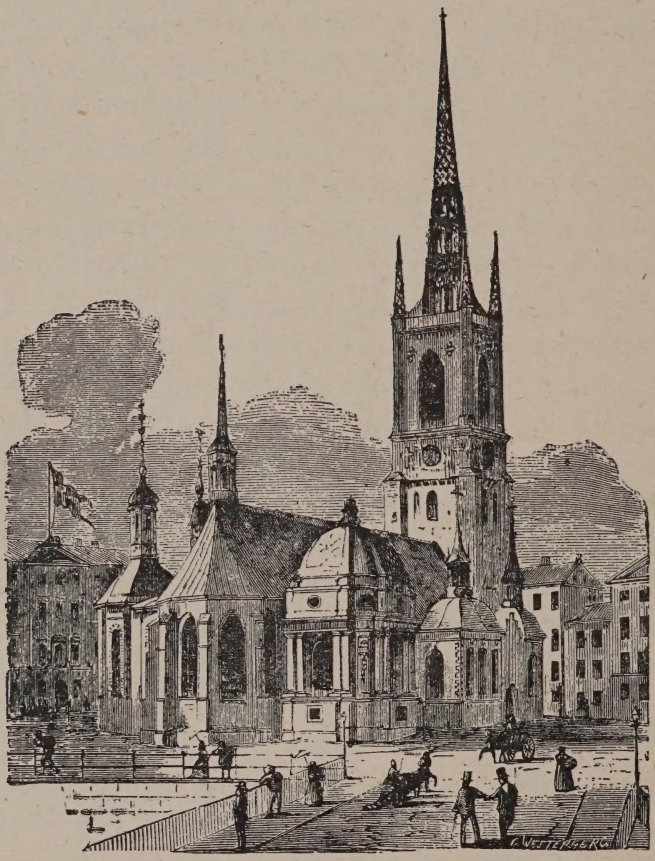
him remains indeed buried in mystery. History can only set forth the facts and circumstances relating to certain events, leaving it to the reader to pass judgment upon the case presented.

Gustavus was extremely handsome and majestic in person; his eyes were blue, and their expression gentle, his hair and mustache golden, his manners commanding, noble and conciliatory. His countenance was open and attractive. Historians have speculated on what the outcome would have been if Gustavus Adolphus had lived and conquered the Empire. Would he have assumed the Imperial crown? He was a protestant from the bottom of his heart and an enthusiast for the living faith. He could not but wish to protect the German protestants in the common faith, and for this purpose to have a foothold in Germany. It is quite clear that the Evangelical Princes of Germany at the time showed themselves utterly incompetent to defend the protestant cause, which Gustavus Adolphus had the talents, the will and material power to protect. If he had an idea of forming a protestant empire in Germany it promised advantages to Germany as well as to Sweden.

Several writers have volunteered the opinion that Germany escaped a great danger by the death of the King of Sweden. But there are also at this day many farsighted statesmen and historians who express the belief that, if Gustavus had lived and carried out his plans, the United Germany of to-day would have existed from the days of the Thirty Years' War. The German historian Zimmerman asks what was done for German nationality by the house of Hapsburg. Nothing. Germany was degraded and abused. The longer

life and success of Gustavus Adolphus would simply have brought about what was brought about in 1860 by the creation of the North German Confederation, and in 1871 by the new German Empire—perhaps even more. Menzel, the historian, expresses the same opinion, and believes that a larger empire might have been created and the Russians checked.

Upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus the government of Sweden was conducted by the Council of State as Regent. The vast interests in Germany required a person with influence and power to carry out the plans of the late King. The government could not be consulted in all things. Its representative in Germany must be invested with full powers to determine at discretion all questions of war and peace, the necessary alliances and the acquisitions to be made. With dictatorial power, and with the whole influence of the crown, which he was to represent, must this important magistrate be invested in order to maintain its dignity, to enforce unity and harmony of operations, to give effect to his orders, and to supply the place of the Monarch whom he succeeded. Such a man was found in the Chancellor Axel Oxenstjerna, the first minister, and, what is more, the friend of the deceased King, who, being acquainted with all the secrets of his master, versed in the politics of Germany and in the relations of the States of Europe, was unquestionably the instrument best fitted to carry out the plans of Gustavus Adolphus for the welfare of Sweden and Germany.



THE RIDDARHOLM CHURCH.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE KINGS OF SWEDEN.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHRISTINA.

1632—1654.

Gustavus Adolphus' Provision for Conducting the Government During the War—Sorrow in Sweden over the Death of Gustavus—Oxenstjerna at the Head of Affairs—The Riksdag of 1633—The Five Councillors—Christina's title Queen Elect of the Realm—The Swedes in Germany—The Army 120,000—The Electors—Oxenstjerna Plenipotentiary and Commander-in-Chief—The Three Propositions to the German Protestants—Alliance with France—The Grants and Bounties by Oxenstjerna to German Princes—Dissensions between the Generals—Movements of the Army—Battle of Nordlingen—The Defeat of the Protestants—Horn Prisoner—Blow to the Protestant Cause—Protestant Union Dissolved—Sweden Enters Into an Alliance with France—Saxony made Peace with Austria and Turned against Sweden—Desperate Situation—Baner's Victory over the Imperialists at Wittstock—The Swedes Supreme in Germany—Devastation of the Country—Duke Bernard's Course and Character—Death of the Emperor—Ferdinand III. Successor—Baner Surprises the Emperor and the Diet—Leonard Torstenson Field Marshal—His Tactics and Victories—Approaches Vienna—Danish Interference—War Declared—Torstenson Invades Denmark—Heroism of her King Christian IV.—Naval Battles—Swedish Colony on the Delaware—Its First Success—Loss to Sweden—Christina at the Head of the Government—Peace with Denmark—Praise and Titles for Oxenstjerna—Torstenson in Germany—Vrangel Commander-in-Chief—At the Gates of Prague—Charles Gustavus—Peace of Westphalia—Sweden's Share—Internal Administration—The Queen's Extravagance—Her Court—Riksdag 1650—Election of Charles Gustavus, Hereditary Prince—The People Dissatisfied with the Queen—Her Abdication—Departs from Sweden—Monument at St. Peter's.

After Gustavus Adolphus had determined to take part in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and previous to his departure from Sweden, he instructed the

Council of State to conduct the government of Sweden and her dependencies during his absence and the continuance of the war. The Council, accordingly, took charge of affairs. The news of the King's death did not reach Stockholm until December 8, 1632. Great was the sorrow and anxiety of the Swedish people, when they heard that their beloved king was dead. It was not fear nor despair. The spirit of Gustavus Adolphus was still alive and urging his friends, disciples and countrymen to follow in his footsteps and to continue the great work which he had begun. The King had, in case of his death, commended his young daughter, his family, and the kingdom to his faithful friend Axel Oxenstjerna, one of the ablest men in the country. Oxenstjerna was now in Germany, where he at once took charge of the direction of the war, and well it was for Sweden and Germany that this great diplomat happened to be where he could at once inspire the protestants and the generals commanding the conglomerate hosts with confidence, now that their great hero had fallen. He it was who now, though far off on German soil, became the guiding spirit of the Council of State. He forwarded to Stockholm a scheme of government which the King had approved before his death as a guide for the Council during the minority of the Queen.

The Estates were summoned to Riksdag at Stockholm in February 1633, where they duly met and approved the King's plan. According to this scheme the Council became the governing power during the regency.

The five councillors upon whom this responsibility devolved were Axel Oxenstjerna, Chancellor, Gabriel

Gustav Oxenstjerna, High Steward, Jacob de la Gardie, Marshal, Carl Gyllenhjelm, Admiral, and Gabriel Bengt Oxenstjerna, Treasurer. Later on certain changes were made in the personnel. The Queen dowager and Casimir, Duke Palatine, were admitted to a share in the government. The title of the young Queen was Christina "Queen Elect of the Realm," which would indicate that although the hereditary settlement placed the crown in the line of the Vasa family, yet, on account of several changes which had taken place in the occupancy of the throne, the Swèdish people in Riksdag assembled retained the privilege of electing their monarch.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus and the victory at Lutzen the Swedes were masters of the larger portion of Germany, and an army of about 120,000 men was gathered under the command of the generals of Sweden and her confederates. During the lifetime of the late King and while he, the central figure in this large confederation, was directing the movements of this vast army, all went well. But, when he was gone, it proved a difficult task to hold this army together. The Swedes were a comparatively small force, a mere nucleus around which the Germans concentrated, commanded by German Princes and generals, the most powerful of whom were the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who viewed the Swedes with jealousy. Axel Oxenstjerna had been appointed by the Council of State legal plenipotentiary of the crown of Sweden in the Roman Empire and commander-in-chief of all the armies. In a council attended by the German Princes, Electors and generals of the armies at Dresden, Oxenstjerna placed before them three propositions

for the carrying on of the war and the settling of the affairs of Germany.

1. That the evangelical Princes and Estates of the Roman empire should form a union with Sweden; and since her King had sacrificed his life for them she should be entrusted with the direction of the war; or

2. The war should be conducted as at present under joint control, no one to conclude a separate peace; or

3. If the protestants had no further need of the assistance of Sweden, then the protestant Princes and Estates of Germany should grant a reasonable indemnity to her for the expenses she had incurred.

To these propositions no answer was then given, because all parties who would be affected by the decision, if any was made at this time, were not present. Great was the burden and grave were the responsibilities which rested upon the shoulders of Oxenstjerna. It was difficult at the same time to hold the imperialists in check and to satisfy the demands of the various commanders and German Princes.

On April 9, 1633, the protestant Princes under the guidance of Oxenstjerna entered with Sweden into an alliance of which Gustavus Adolphus had laid the foundation. Louis XIII. of France hesitated for a while before joining in this alliance, saying, "It is time to set bounds to the progress of these Goths," but policy dictated his course, and he also concluded a treaty with Sweden. Measures dictated by equity, favor or necessity, marked the entrance of Oxenstjerna on the exercise of his authority as director of the war in Germany. The Palatinate was ceded to the heirs of

CHRISTINA.

the unfortunate Frederik, Mannheim only retaining a Swedish garrison.

Oxenstjerna was surrounded by suitors. Bernard of Weimar availed himself of circumstances to request and obtain from the reluctant chancellor Swedish letters patent investing him with the duchy of Franconia. It was on the issue of these letters that Oxenstjerna exclaimed, "Let it be recorded in our archives for eternal remembrance, that a German Princesolicits this from a Swedish nobleman, and that a Swedish nobleman grants it to a German Prince, which I hold to be as absurd for the one to request as for the other to grant." This was not the chancellor's only grant of the same character. The generals and soldiers had to be satisfied in order to retain their services and to pursue the great work on hand. The Swedish arms continued to be crowned with victory. The original plans as prepared by the late King were adhered to, but dissensions began to appear between the Swedish and German generals; Duke Bernard demanded the position of commander-in-chief which, however, was conferred on field marshal Gustav Horn. The dissensions between the commanders of the Swedish and German protestant armies were no favorable omens for the success of the evangelical cause.

The imperialists had moved their armies into Franconia and Suabia, where they ravaged the country, sacking and burning the cities. Duke Bernard's army advanced to the relief of Nordlingen and chief marshal Horn joined the army of Duke Bernard. A council of war was held. The imperialists were about 30,000 strong, while the Swedish-German army numbered only 18,000. Reinforcements of several thousand men

were not far away and Horn advised delay until these regiments could arrive; but Duke Bernard and his officers determined to fight the following day. The impetuosity of Bernard and his self-will brought about the most unfortunate battle that the Swedes took part in during the Thirty Years War. Horn and his division fought with desperate bravery, but were overpowered, surrounded and made prisoners. Horn lingered in prison for about eight years, when he was released.

By the imperial victory at Nordlingen the Catholic League became masters of Southwestern Germany. Now the protestants were threatened with a repetition of the same barbarities which they had experienced prior to the time when Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany. This one battle was a terrible blow to the prestige of the Swedish arms. Some historians assert that no Swedish regiment took part in it, although they give no authorities for this statement. General Horn was the Swedish commander and the Swedes received the blame for what really was the fault of Duke Bernard. Oxenstjerna had his second sleepless night when the report of the disaster at Nordlingen reached him; his first was on the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Protestant Union of Heilbron was dissolved soon after. The Elector of Saxony, who had for some time sought an excuse to separate from the Swedes, made a peace at Prague with the Emperor in 1635 to which the protestants were invited to become parties, and if the Swedes were not willing to accede to the terms of this treaty of peace then the Germans were to unite and drive the foreigners out of Germany. Many of the German principalities and cities hastened to join in the treaty of Prague and make peace with the

Emperor on the terms proposed by him. Only the Duke of Hesse Cassel remained steadfast to the interests of Sweden.

Cardinal Richelieu, who at this time directed the affairs of France, fearing the success of the Emperor, determined to take a hand in the struggle. The troops of France invaded the Rhenish provinces and took Alsace. Duke Bernard entered the French service with his troops, which were supported by French gold. Oxenstjerna under these embarrassing conditions made a personal visit to France to arrange an alliance with Richelieu for the protection of the Swedish and German interests. Richelieu agreed to furnish 12,000 men to the allied army, to pay a subsidy of half a million livres and in case of need to place a reserve army on the Rhine. In return he was allowed to occupy Alsace, and some fortified cities on the Rhine; a vote in the council of the league was given him, and no peace negotiations with the Emperor were to be made without the approval of France.

Saxony as an ally of the Emperor of Austria declared war against Sweden. Oxenstjerna would have made peace with Austria, but his advances were repulsed. The war had to be continued. When Oxenstjerna returned to Germany Sweden had only one army, which was in the vicinity of Magdeburg under command of John Baner. Those States of the empire which had not accepted the peace of Prague, were compelled to throw themselves into the arms either of the Swedes or of the French.

John Baner, who had been driven by the Saxon Elector into Mecklenburg, advanced again and at Wittstock near Potsdam, on the 4th of October 1636, so ut-

terly defeated the Saxon-Austrian army that by this one battle the credit of the Swedish arms was restored. By this victory Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Thuringia and part of Franconia fell into the hands of the victor, who now, to punish the defection of the Elector, levied heavy contributions on his country. Saxony had to pay dearly for making peace with the Emperor and for turning against her former protectors—the Swedes. The army was not the original army of Gustavus Adolphus. It was a nucleus of Swedes surrounded by mercenary soldiers, who made war their profession; devastation, oppression and spoliation their trade. The countries through which the armies were marching and counter-marching were laid desolate. The farmers abandoned their land; no crops were raised; the houses stood empty or had been burned; all industries ceased; famine and sickness depopulated the entire area. The survivors fled from the country to the cities, while the male population joined the army which offered the best pay.

Duke Bernard under his private alliance with France pursued his own course during the war without direct unison with the Swedish generals. Although there was want of proper harmony the protestants were superior to the imperialists. Duke Bernard as a soldier of fortune attempted to carve out for himself a kingdom by the sword. But France took advantage of every turn of fortune to forward her own interests. Duke Bernard died July 18, 1638, in his 38th year. He is spoken of as a great captain. He exhibited a beautiful spirit of humanity, high moral worth, and the polish bestowed by a fine education. In a time of general brutality, profligacy, and immorality he dis-

played a sterling Christian character, led an exemplary life, and was a model of manly virtue, compelling the respect of all who were thrown with him either in the army or out of it.

How differently must history describe Ferdinand II., who died before Bernard, on February 15, 1637, a victim of religious and political bigotry. He was not destined to see the close of the war he had begun. On his death his son Ferdinand III. was elected Emperor of Germany.

Ferdinand III. was hailed with delight by protestant Germany, as he had shown himself more tolerant than his father towards those who differed from him in religion prior to his election as Emperor. But the Jesuits began at once to influence his conduct, and there was accordingly no change in the imperialists' attitude towards, or their decrees or edicts against the protestants. He summoned the Estates to a Diet at Ratisbon and while in session the Emperor with all the members of the Diet was almost carried off by the Swedish field marshal, John Baner. In the depth of winter Baner broke up from Bohemia, which his troops had laid under heavy contributions during their winter quarters, and while the Diet believed that he was resting quietly in his winter quarters in Thuringia he appeared on the 17th of January 1641 before Ratisbon and made an assault upon the town. The elements were against him and in favor of the Emperor and the Diet, for a sudden thaw broke up the ice on the river and the city was saved from the Swedes. Baner did not long survive the exposures of this winter's campaign. After returning with his army into Saxony in 1641 he died at Halberstadt in the prime of life.

Leonard Torstenson.—Between the death of John Baner and the arrival of the new commander there was much disorder in the Swedish army caused by the jealousy among the officers. Leonard Torstenson was a disciple and companion of Gustavus Adolphus. He suffered from gout so much that he had to be carried in a litter; nevertheless, his movements were so rapid, his plans were so well laid, and his schemes so well defined that he surprised the enemies and won several victories. He soon restored order and discipline among the demoralized troops and thrice traversed Germany with incredible rapidity and brilliant success. The Swedes were again powerful, because their old North German allies one after another had joined them either in order to escape being subjugated by them or to perish with them. Torstenson marched victoriously through Silesia and was approaching Vienna. The Emperor prepared for flight, when Torstenson was threatened by Piccolomini. He returned, and on the second of November, 1642, the two armies met on the same plain of Breitenfeld near Leipzig where Gustavus Adolphus had fought and won his brilliant victory eleven years before. The battle was desperate all day long. The arms of Sweden were victorious and Piccolomini fled from the field leaving the ground covered with dead, while all his treasures and baggage fell into the hands of the victorious Torstenson. An error in the instructions given to Torstenson and to the French general commanding the allies of Sweden prevented their joint operation, and saved Bavaria from being overrun at this time.

Torstenson pursued his advantage over the im-

perialists. He gained a signal victory over Gallas at Bernberg and Magdeburg, over Hatzfeld at Jankora in Bohemia, and now for a second time was approaching Vienna. The capital of the empire would have been lost but that the Emperor bribed Rakoczy to retreat and also the French; they thus failed to join Torstenson who was obliged to retire toward the North.

The Danish War.—Although peace had been established between Sweden and Denmark before the former became involved in the Thirty Years' War, the latter on account of the ascendancy of Sweden continued to thwart the Swedish government whenever an opportunity offered. Christian IV. at first took a leading part in the protestant cause, but after his defeat by the Imperialists was considered of no account during the struggle between the contending powers. The King of Denmark was secretly aiding the enemies of Sweden under pretense of mediation. The Swedish shipping was constantly interfered with by Denmark in the Sound and Swedish merchants were caused great loss by the constant detention of their vessels.

The imperialists and the Catholic League having been defeated in many pitched battles were now ready to listen to propositions of peace, and arrangements were made for a general congress to meet and settle the preliminaries to such a settlement. The Swedish government was now in a position to retaliate upon Denmark for her many hostile acts while the Swedish armies were engaged in Germany. Torstenson was directed to re-organize his armies in Germany, by detaching garrisons, and with the main body of his troops to make a sudden descent upon Denmark. The general moved northward giving out that he was pre-

paring to go into winter quarters. After crossing the Elbe he called his officers together, December 6th, 1643, and informed them that Denmark was their destination and promised them good quarters. The army continued their march with joy and soon overran Holstein and Jutland. Denmark was unprepared for the sudden invasion by Swedish veterans hardened in a hundred battles. Torstenson covered the peninsula of Jutland as far as Skagen and threatened the balance of Denmark. A Swedish army under command of Gustav Horn invaded Scania and took most of the strong places, intending to go on board the Swedish fleet and join Torstenson. A fleet under command of De Ger from Holland was to co-operate with the Swedish fleet against Denmark. From this perilous situation Denmark extricated herself by the heroic conduct of her old King, Christian IV., now 67 years of age. His fleet was in excellent shape, so he collected it and prepared for action, waiting for the passing of the Dutch vessels. The Danish fleet under command of the King in person made such a furious attack on the Hollanders that several vessels were sunk and the ballance returned to Holland. Christian IV. now sought the Swedish fleet commanded by Claus Fleming which was cruising on the Danish coast. The two fleets met in the summer of 1644 and a naval battle began accompanied by the most terrific cannonading. The Danish King was thrown down on the deck and severely wounded, but he picked himself up and urged his sailors to renewed efforts. Evening terminated the conflict and darkness separated the combatants. Both parties claimed the victory, but neither was conquered. The Swedish fleet sailed into the harbor of Kiel

where the Danish fleet renewed the battle. The Swedish admiral was killed by a ball from the Danish fleet. His second in command Carl G. Vrangel ran the gauntlet, brought out the Swedish fleet and passed the Danes; coming out into the open sea, he joined the Dutch fleet which had just returned. A new attack was made upon the Danish fleet between Femern and Laland. The battle raged with much fury during the entire day. Towards evening the Swedish guns proved their superiority, and as the Danish sailors refused to surrender, the fleet was totally destroyed. On land Denmark suffered greatly. Her army was no match for the well disciplined soldiers of Sweden. The imperialists attempted a diversion in favor of Denmark but without success.

The Swedish Colony on the Delaware.—Prior to the time when Gustavus Adolphus became involved in the Thirty Years' War, he had decided to establish a Swedish colony in America. So the Swedish West India Company was granted a charter in 1626; but the war in Germany prevented the King from devoting any further attention to this colonizing scheme. On his death, however, Axel Oxenstjerna encouraged the enterprise, and in the fall of 1637 the Calmar Nyckel, an armed vessel, and the Fogel Grip, a transport, sailed, under the command of Peter Minuit, from Sweden for North America. The new settlers landed safely with their effects, and settled on the banks of the Delaware in the Spring of 1638. Delighted at being able to exchange the ships for terra firma, the colonists called the spot where they landed "Paradise Point." Making their way further up the river to the place where Wilmington is now located they found

the headquarters of the Indian Chief Metasimet, from whom they purchased six acres of ground on which to build their village. Truly, a humble beginning! Here the Swedes built a fort, which they called "Christina" in honor of their young Sovereign, the Queen of Sweden. They surrounded it with a palisade in the general form of a square, inside which were erected two log houses for barracks and storage, and a third house to serve as a chapel, where Christian services were held; here too were held the first law-courts that were established on the river. The groundwork essential to the security and welfare of a civilized community—a military post, Christian worship, legislative sessions, and courts of justice—was now firmly laid, forming a solid foundation for the first settlement on the Delaware. And all these steps were taken in accordance with plans prepared by the great Gustavus Adolphus, in conjunction with his able chancellor, Axel Oxenstjerna.

Having thus acquired a foothold, they bought another and larger tract of land from the Indians, paying an honest price for it. As it was their custom to keep faith with the Indians, they were in turn treated as friends. The Swedes invariably recognized the prior rights of the natives, and by friendly purchase initiated that wise and pacific policy which William Penn afterwards pursued with happy results to his followers, as well as to his own just renown.

Swedish emigrants continued to augment the little settlement. John Printz was sent over from Sweden in 1642 as governor of the colony, but resigned in 1653 and returned home. John Risingh, who was appointed to succeed him, arrived on the Delaware in 1654. Hav-

ing got into a dispute with the Hollanders of New Amsterdam, now New York, he seized the Dutch fort at Newcastle. The governor seems to have relied more upon the reputation for invincible military prowess acquired by his country during the Thirty Years' War than on his few scattered subjects; and the Dutch, who outnumbered the Swedes twenty to one, were filled with indignation at such audacity. Consequently, Governor Stuyvesant made a memorable voyage from New Amsterdam with seven ships and 700 troops to reduce Fort Christina with its garrison of twenty men. On his arrival that terrible struggle began which lasted for two weeks, (and which Washington Irving has so humorously described in his "History of New York by Knickerbocker" which the reader will do well to consult,) the final outcome of which was that New Sweden, on the Delaware, passed from the political control of Sweden to that of the Dutch, who in turn, and within a short time, were conquered by the English Puritans. However, when the American colonists later withdrew their allegiance from England, it was the casting-vote of John Morton, a Swede by descent, which made the United States independent.

The Swedes on the Delaware and its vicinity continued to keep up friendly relations with the mother country until the middle of the past century, and the Swedish archbishop, by direction of the Sovereign, sent preachers over to conduct church services in Swedish, so long as any of the people survived who could understand the language.

Queen Christina Assumes the Government.—At the outbreak of the Danish war, Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, had reached 18 years of age, and she

assumed the control of the government in 1644. She was hailed with delight by a faithful people who had during her minority been victorious in so many encounters. Oxenstjerna continued for some time to act as chancellor and be the guiding spirit of the government. The war with Denmark continued during the next year. Sweden was constantly victorious. France, to prevent the annihilation of Denmark, offered her good offices, and a treaty of peace was signed between the belligerents at Bromsebro, by which Swedish dominion was extended over several Danish provinces of the Swedish peninsula; and the Sound was made free in the future to all merchantmen.

On the chancellor's return from the peace congress in Bromsebro the Queen advanced him to the dignity of Count of Sodemore, a reward which was made still more flattering by the manner in which it was conferred. He had been, the Queen observed in Council, a great minister to a Great King; he had been, when God called her father out of the world, and she was left a child under age, more than a guardian and instructor to her; he had with his colleagues faithfully served his fatherland, so that everything was in good order on her accession to the throne; he had, although possessing great power, never forgotten that he owed her the duty of a subject; he had exhausted his claims on his country's gratitude by having brought the war with Denmark to a desirable issue and an advantageous peace, which she ascribed pre-eminently to his capacity, skill and great qualities. Axel Oxenstjerna was by the testimony of friends and foes regarded as the greatest statesman during the most trying period that Europe underwent. Cardinal Mazarin said on one oc-

casion: "If the statesmen of Europe were all on one boat then they ought to give the helm to Axel Oxenstjerna." His opponent Chanut, the French ambassador, on one occasion laid his hand on Axel Oxenstjerna's shoulder and said, "Axel hic est circum quem totus volvitur orbis." This is the axle around which the whole world revolves.

The war in Germany continued. Torstenson left Holstein and marched back with his army into Germany. There he met the imperial army under Gallas in a pitched battle at Juterbogk and routed them. In the beginning of 1645 Torstenson invaded Bohemia where the imperialist army awaited him under Hatzfeld. There the bloody battle of Jankowitz was fought, resulting in a victory for the Swedes. Hatzfeld was surrounded and taken with a large portion of his army. The road was now open for the Swedes to besiege Vienna. But what the armies of the Emperor could not bring about, that his gold, which had been freely distributed among the allies of Sweden, accomplished.

Torstenson on account of impaired health resigned his position as commander of the army.

Carl Gustav Vrangel was appointed general in command of the Swedish armies in Germany after Torstenson. He changed the theatre of war to western Europe. Brandenburg and Saxony had concluded an armistice. The Swedes in concert with the French proposed to bring Bavaria to terms. Vrangel entered Bavaria in triumph and in conjunction with the French defeated the Imperial and Bavarian armies, May 17, 1648. The Palatine Charles Gustavus of Sweden, now generalissimo of the armies was on his

way from Sweden with 8,000 men. Vrangel did not wait for him but crossed the Danube and won the victory alone. This was the last pitched battle of the war. Vrangel and Koenigsmark surprised the new town of Prague, seized the whole royal treasure, and found vast quantities of booty in the palaces of the grandees. Charles Gustavus joined the Swedish army under the walls of Prague and then began the siege of the old town. On November 3, 1648, messengers arrived with intelligence that the general peace of Westphalia had been signed.

The war had lasted thirty years. It began at Prague; at Prague it ended. From 1641 negotiations had been conducted between the belligerents tending to a general peace. These negotiations were broken off and resumed according to the changing fortunes of the war.

The Treaty of Peace of Westphalia, dated October 24, 1648, consisted of two treaties, that of Munster where the French, and that of Osnabruck, where the Swedes negotiated with the Emperor—the smaller German powers being also represented. This peace put an end to the Thirty Years War, and adjusted the relations of a large part of Europe. During the progress of the Thirty Years War or preparatory thereto, several treaties had been made (some of which have been alluded to)—which were religio-political. They related to the quarrels in the German Empire and were:—The Protestant Union, 1606; the Catholic League, 1610; the treaty of Ulm, 1620; the peace of Lubeck, 1629; the edict of restitution, 1629; and the peace of Prague, 1635, between the Emperor and the Elector of Sax-

ony, to which several of the German Estates acceded, thus abandoning the war and the cause of Sweden.

The provisions of the Peace of Westphalia, were in brief, so far as relating to Sweden, as follows:

1. Sweden, in return for surrendering places occupied in the war, was awarded Hither Pomerania, the Isle of Rugen, parts of Further Pomerania, viz: Stettin, Garz, Damm, Gulnow and the Isle of Wallin, the course of the Oder between these places, etc., with the expectancy of Further Pomerania in certain events; in addition the Archbishopric of Bremen, except the city of that name, the Bishopric of Werden, the town and port of Wismar, etc. These were to continue parts of the Empire of which the Sovereign of Sweden as Duke of Bremen, Werden and Pomerania, Prince of Rugen, and Lord of Wismar, was to become a member with three votes in the Diet; with the privilege of supreme jurisdiction by creating a court of last resort in the territory, which was established at Wismar; also the right of founding a University, which was placed at Greifswald. To Sweden was paid 5,600,000 rix-dollars.

The Peace of Westphalia is one of the most important treaties ever made. It established the equality of the three religious communities of Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, and sought to oppose a perpetual barrier to further religious innovations and secularizations of property under ecclesiastical control. It rendered the several states independent of the Emperor and prepared the way for the subsequent development of the power of Prussia which came to birth in the struggles of the Thirty Years' War. Prussia thus became the natural head of the protestant party and the political rival of the

house of Austria which was the chief of the Catholic party.

This treaty of peace further introduced two foreign elements into the internal constitution of the Empire—France and Sweden as guarantors of the peace, and Sweden as a member of the federal body—thus giving these two powers a right of interference in the internal affairs of Germany. It was by virtue of this treaty that Sweden continued to exercise great influence among the powers on the continent for many years afterwards.

The Internal Administration of Queen Christina.—The Swedish government for a period of twelve years during the minority of the Queen had been conducted by the Council of State with Axel Oxenstjerna as Chancellor and in fact administrator. The country had, in the course of a few years, risen to a position of great importance among the states of Europe. It was still involved in war, when the sceptre was placed in the hand of Christina and she became the head of the Swedish government. Under the Swedish constitution her prerogatives were great and she did not fail to assert them. Christina had received a careful education and Oxenstjerna had diligently instructed her in the various branches of the government. But she was only a girl after all and had girlish whims and notions. She was restless and changeable, conceited and despotic, growing up as she did during a time of brilliant victories by her people; and ascending a throne which had become the most renowned in Europe, it is not surprising that this young woman should have lost her head on such dizzy heights. She was surrounded by dazzling splendor. Men of great fame from Europe

flocked to her court. She was liberal, even extravagant in her rewards, presents and promotions; and distributed among her favorites, titles, donations, and presents with a lavish hand.

It is well to call attention here to the dangers to which a great people subject themselves by placing in the hands of a young girl such vast power, without limitations, and Sweden had soon to regret that no bounds were set to her Sovereign's prerogative.

The youthful Queen early gave to her young favorites her entire confidence and rejected the counsel of the experienced Axel Oxenstjerna. She fretted because the wars would not cease and insisted upon their early termination whether or no an advantageous peace was secured. In her early years the young Queen had promised her hand to Charles Gustavus of Palatine her first cousin. She broke her promise, but vowed never to marry, and to soothe the wounded heart of her lover she resolved to cause him to be elected her successor and then to resign the crown in his favor.

The Estates were summoned to a Riksdag in 1650 when young Christina was crowned Queen of Sweden and her dependencies, the proudest title born by any person on the Swedish throne. Charles Gustavus was at this Riksdag elected and declared to be the "Hereditary Prince of Sweden, with succession to his male heirs."

Christina found no pleasure in performing her duties as sovereign, which soon became an irksome burden to her. The country was prosperous, but the expenses of the wars and Christina's extravagance spread dissatisfaction among the people. The con-

stant call for men to fill the ranks at the front was a severe drain upon the country and weighed heavily upon the people. Complaints were heard all over the land and the young Queen soon became unpopular. She squandered the treasures and property of the crown. At the Riksdag which met at Upsala in 1654 many voices were heard expressing dissatisfaction with the manner in which the government had been conducted and demanding that the crown land and other grants which had been alienated by the Queen to courtiers and favorites should be returned to the possession of the crown.

Christina, regarding herself as a demigoddess, did not take kindly to the criticisms of her subjects. These circumstances hastened her abdication, previously determined upon.

The Abdication of Queen Christina.—The ceremony of the abdication of Queen Christina was a most solemn and extraordinary affair. The Queen's renunciation took place on the morning of the 6th of June, 1654. It was a mournful transaction. The Queen left her chamber, having the crown on her head, with the apple and scepter in her hand, clad in her coronation robes and a white silk atlas-kirtle, and delivered an address. To this Herr Shering Rosenhane replied in an oration, fairly composed, and fitted to the occasion. Thereupon her Majesty, laying aside one regalia after the other, descended from the throne, spoke to the Hereditary Prince Charles Gustavus, who was presently to be crowned King, and recommended to him the weal of his country, with laudation of every order, the Council of State, and especially those who had been her guardians, with the noblest and the most moving

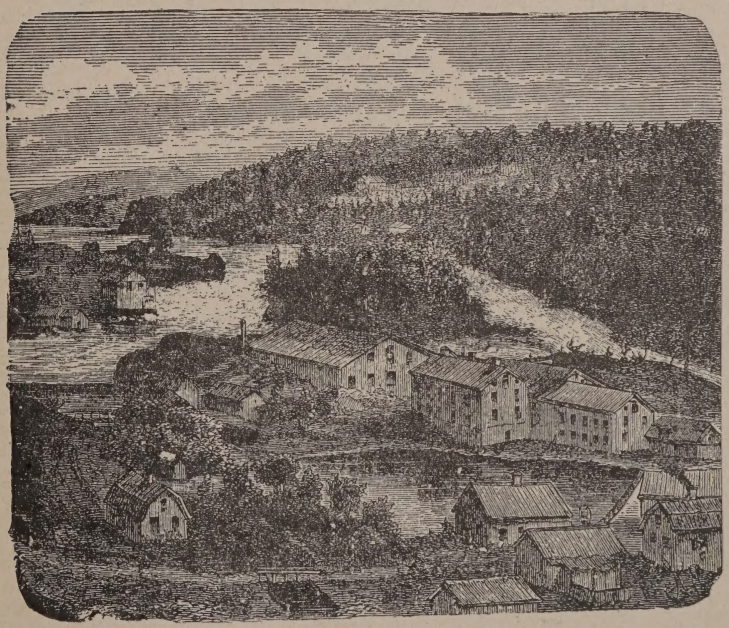
exhortations and wise sayings that could be imagined. Her Majesty stood and spoke thus finely unconstrained. Sometimes a sob broke her utterances. Many honorable persons, both men and women, for all of the ladies were present, were moved to tears, seeing that she closed both her race and reign before God's enforcement, and how she stood beautiful as an angel. To this the King made answer fitly and gallantly. Her Majesty wished to see the King immediately on the throne, but he would not. With that, they left the crown-room, and her Majesty wished to attend upon the King to his salon, but he refusing, attended upon her. Straightway, at two o'clock in the afternoon the King was crowned, with the usual procession. His Majesty rode to church with all the Councillors of State. Upon their return was held a banquet.

The following day Christina with her suite departed from Upsala, staying a few days at Stockholm, where she went publicly to confession. Twelve ships of war had been equipped to convey her to Germany, which were to await her at Calmar. Instead of this she took her way by Halmstad and the Sound. Only four Swedes formed her suite; the rest she had dismissed. Coming to the brook, which then formed the frontier between Sweden and Denmark, she dismounted from her carriage, and leaping across it, cried, "At length I am free and out of Sweden, whither I hope never to return."

Having left Sweden she took her departure for Paris and Rome. As the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, a Queen who had voluntarily stepped down from the throne, she was everywhere received with the consideration due to her rank. She spent

most of the remaining days of her life at Rome devoting herself to scientific and literary pursuits. She died on April 19, 1689, when sixty-three years old, and lies buried in St. Peter's at Rome, where a monument is erected to her memory on one of the pillars at the entrance of the grand edifice.

Like a brilliant meteor creating wonder and admiration Queen Christina flashed across the northern firmament and sank below the horizon of Sweden. Her conversion to the Roman catholic belief from the faith of her father, for which he and her people had poured out their hearts' blood, estranged her forever from her native country, although Axel Oxenstjerna sighed, "She was still the daughter of the Great Gustavus Adolphus."



CATALOGUE OF KINGS.

I.

THE GODS.

Odin.
Njord.
Frey, called Yngve.
Freyja.

THE YNGLINGS.

Fjolner, son of Yngve Frey, ruled about B. C. 100.
Swegder.
Vanland, about the beginning of the Christian Era.
Visbur.
Donalde, A. D. 100.
Domar.
Dygve, A. D. 200.
Dag.
Agne.
Alrek and Eric, A. D. 300.
Yngve and Alf.
Hugleik.
Jorund and Eric, A. D. 400.
Ane, the old.
Egil.
Ottar, A. D. 500.
Adils.
Oesten.
Yngvar.
Braut Anund, A. D. 600.
Ingjald Illrada, A. D. 620.

II.

DYNASTY OF IVAR AND SIGURD.

Ivar Vidfamne, A. D. 640.
Auda, the rich, married.

1) to Rorek	2) to Radbert, A. D. 670.
their son	their son
Harald Hildetand,	Randver, A. D. 700.
	his son
	Sigurd Ring.

Sigurd Ring, King, died A. D. 740.
Ragnar Lodbrok, died A. D. 775.
Bjorn Ironside, died A. D. 800.
Eric Bjornson and Refil, died A. D. 815.
Edmund and Bjorn of the Hill, died A. D. 829.
Eric Edmundson, died A. D. 885.
Bjorn Ericson, died A. D. 935.
Eric, the Victorious, died A. D. 993.
Olaf, the Lap-king, died A. D. 1024.
Anund Jacob, died A. D. 1052.
Edmund, the old, died A. D. 1060.

III.

DYNASTY OF STENKIL.

Stenkil, died A. D. 1066.
Hakon, the Red, died A. D. 1095.
Inge the elder and Halstan, died A. D. 1115.
Philip (1118) and Inge the younger, died A. D. 1130.

IV.

DYNASTIES OF SVERKER AND ST. ERIC.

Sverker, died A. D. 1155.
St. Eric, died A. D. 1160.
Charles Sverkerson, died A. D. 1168.
Canute Ericson, died 1195.
Sverker Carlson, died A. D. 1210.

Eric Canuteson, died A. D. 1216.

John Sverkerson, died A. D. 1222.

Eric Ericson, died A. D. 1250.

V.

THE FOLKUNGERS.

Valdemar (dethroned), died A. D. 1302.

Magnus Ladulas, died A. D. 1290.

Birger Magnusson (dethroned), died A. D. 1321.

Magnus Ericson (dethroned), died A. D. 1374.

VI.

FOREIGN AND UNION KINGS.

Albert of Mecklenburg (dethroned), died A. D. 1412.

Margaret, founds the Union in 1397, died A. D. 1412.

Eric of Pomerania (dethroned), died A. D. 1459.

Christopher of Bavaria, died A. D. 1448.

Christian I. of Oldenburg (dethroned in Sweden) died A. D. 1481.

John (dethroned in Sweden), died 1512.

Christian II. The Tyrant (dethroned 1521), died A. D. 1559.

VII.

SWEDISH REGENTS UNDER THE UNION.

Engelbert Engelbertson, A. D. 1434—1436.

Charles Knutson Bonde, Administrator, A. D. 1436—1441.

Bengt and Nils Oxenstjerna, Administrators, A. D. 1448.

Charles Knutson, King, died A. D. 1470.

Archbishop Jens Oxenstjerna, Prince and Governor of Sweden, A. D. 1457—1464.

Bishop Kettil Carlson Vasa, Administrator, A. D. 1464.

Eric Axelson Tott, Administrator, A. D. 1466—1467.

Sten Sture the elder, Administrator, A. D. 1471—1503.
Swante Nilson Sture, Administrator, A. D. 1501—1512.
Sten Svanteson Sture, Administrator, 1512—1520.

VIII.

THE VASA DYNASTY.

Gustavus I. Vasa, A. D. 1521—1560.
Eric XIV. (dethroned), A. D. 1560—1568.
John III., A. D. 1568—1592.
Sigismund, A. D. 1592—1599.
Charles IX., A. D. 1599—1611.
Gustavus II. Adolphus, A. D. 1611—1632.
Christina (abdicated), A. D. 1632—1654.

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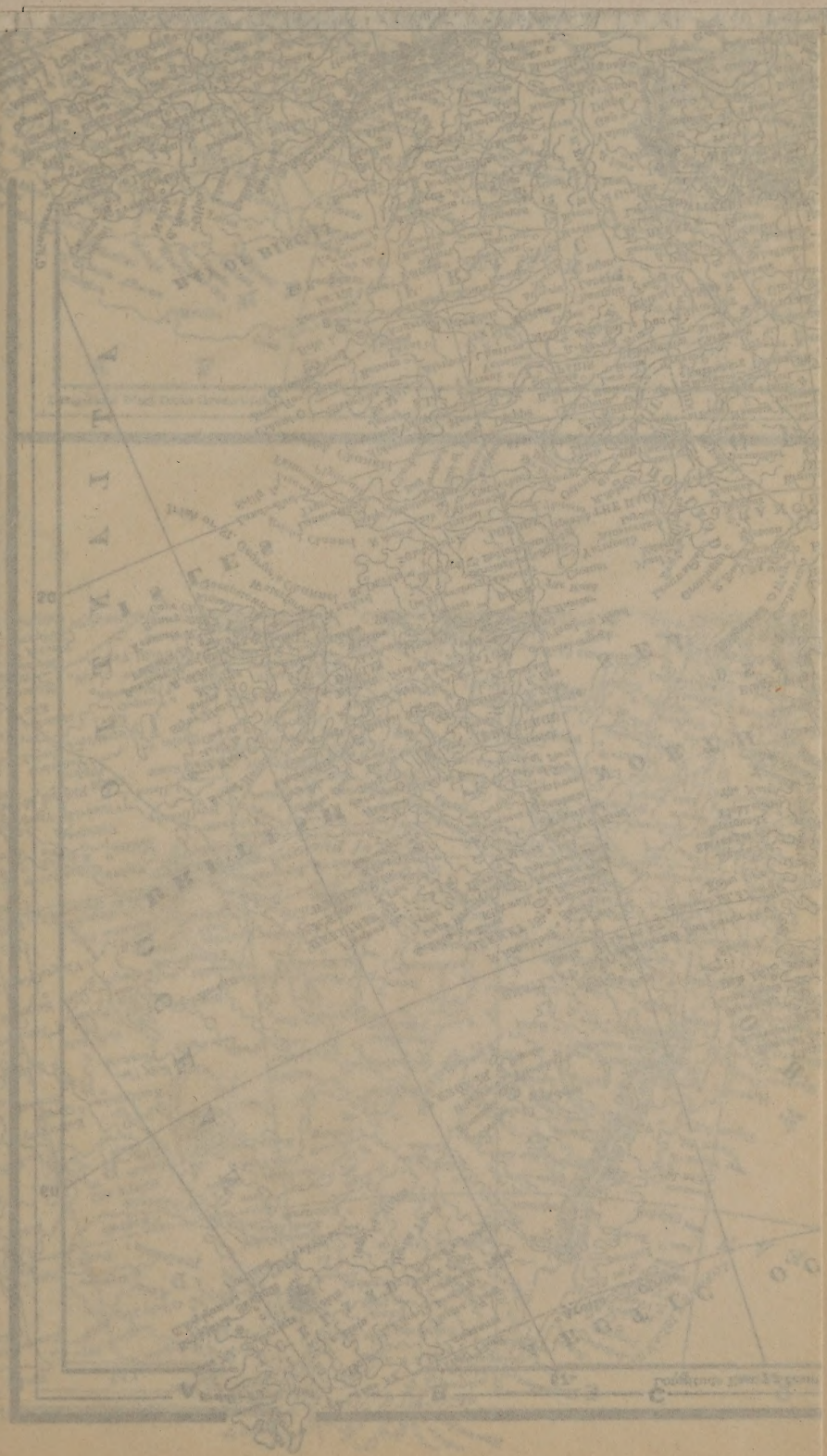

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